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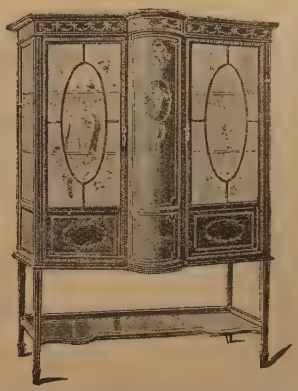

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THE

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. CXLVIII. *July* 1912.

Art. I.—JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

1. *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman.* Based on his private journals and correspondence. By Wilfrid Ward. Two volumes. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1912.)
2. *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, being A History of his Religious Opinions. By John Henry Cardinal Newman. (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1885.)
3. *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent.* By John Henry Cardinal Newman. Fifth edition. (London: Burns and Oates. 1881.)
4. *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders.* By Viscount Halifax. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1912.)
5. *The Price of Unity.* By B. W. Maturin. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1912.)

We have little but praise for the manner in which Mr. Wilfrid Ward has written the 'Life of Cardinal Newman.' He has brought to the task very high qualifications. He has an intimate knowledge of the history of the Roman Church in England, and of the religious movements on the Continent during the last hundred years. He has become the recognized biographer of the distinguished members of that Church in this country. The son of Ward and the disciple of Newman, he can write with real sympathy the life of his master, but any exuberance of admiration will always be checked by the knowledge that his filial

piety will bring. He writes as a loyal member of the Church in which he was born, but he is not without a keen insight into the defects of its policy. Naturally we do not agree in all cases with his point of view or his judgement. But we cannot point to anything which appears to us unfair to the Church of England. His condemnation of his own Church, in fact, is far more severe than anything that he says of other religious communities, and we can imagine that amongst those who love the official history which would conceal the truth, his frank and honest exposition of the varying movements of thought in his own communion will be received with much unwritten condemnation. He loves his master. He is full of ardent admiration for his piety, his loyalty, his affection, his great intellectual qualities, but he is not blind to his defects. He feels that he was badly treated by the official hierarchy, but he is not without sympathy for the traditional theologian who felt that Newman never wrote according to rule, and for the administrator who can find no place for an intellect too subtle for practical life and for a character so profound as to appear merely eccentric to the ordinary man. Above all he allows Newman to tell his own story in his own words. Newman himself when he collected the 'Remains of Hurrell Froude' had laid down that it was the business of a biographer to allow the subject of his work to speak for himself, and the most loyal tribute to the memory of one of the greatest of religious writers is to allow his own words to justify his life and to tell his tale.

I

John Henry Newman was born in Old Broad Street in the City of London on February 21, 1801, and his life divides itself almost exactly into two portions. For the first forty-four years (1801–1845) he was a member of the Church of England. The history of those years he has narrated in his *Apologia*, and we shall pass lightly over it. From 1845 to 1890, when he died, he was a member of the Church of Rome, and it is that portion of his life with

which we are concerned, and which is the main subject of this biography.

The incidents of the first part may be mentioned shortly. Newman was the son of Evangelical parents, brought up under strong religious influence. He was educated at home until he went to Trinity College, Oxford. He is one of the many distinguished men who have failed in their 'Schools,' obtaining only a third class; but the judgement of the examiners was corrected by the Fellows of Oriel College, and he obtained what was then considered the highest prize in University life. During his early years at Oxford he came under the influence of Whately, and to him he owed both the first great stimulus to intellectual life, and the keen logical power which he was often able to use so effectively against the tenets of his teacher. In the spring of 1833 he paid a visit to Italy, and was dangerously ill of fever. On his way home he wrote the well-known hymn 'Lead, kindly Light' whilst becalmed at sea in the Straits of Bonifacio. On July 14 of that year Keble preached his sermon on 'National Apostasy'—an Assize sermon listened to, no doubt, by the Judge on Circuit with indifference, but marking to a small body of friends the beginning of the Oxford Movement. In December of that year began the publication of the *Tracts for the Times*, and from 1833 to 1838 the position of Newman in Oxford and amongst those throughout the country who drew their inspiration from Oxford was unique. He looked back upon it as the happiest period of his life. He was full of enthusiasm. The new thoughts and ideas with which he was teeming seemed to be making way in every direction. His personal power seemed almost unlimited. Then came criticism and attack from different sides, and it was in 1839 that he began to doubt his position. In 1841 he published Tract 90. From 1843 to 1845 he lived in retirement with a small community at Littlemore. In 1845 he was engaged in writing his essay on the 'Development of Christian Doctrine,' and on October 9 of that year he was received into the Church of Rome.

The second period of his life now begins. There was some doubt as to the character of his future career. At one time he had thought of adopting a secular life. Ultimately, as the result of a visit to Rome, he decided to found a branch of the Oratory in England. It was a form of community life which was capable of adaptation to the circumstances of different countries, and preserved to its members a considerable amount of individual freedom side by side with the advantages of corporate life. In particular the members kept their own property. The years 1850–51 were those of the controversy over Papal aggression. Something like a panic arose. The attacks on the Church of Rome were violent and often ill-judged. Newman had all the enthusiasm and fierceness of a new convert—we might also add some of the credulity—and he threw himself into the combat with the same chivalry and loyalty with which he had fought on the other side. This is the only period of his later life when we can accuse him of anything like unfairness to the Church of England. It was the period of the *Sermons to Mixed Congregations* where his style became more eloquent and rhetorical than at any other time, and of the Achilli case, which landed him in a libel action. The years 1851–58 are marked by the failure of the movement to found an Irish University. The history is an unsatisfactory one. It was part of the general movement on the part of the Roman Church against mixed education. Newman started with enthusiasm. He hoped to found a new Oxford in Dublin under new conditions, but the Irish Bishops treated him with marked coldness. The Irish people did not wish to have the type of University he would give them, for their aims were political and not religious. The Committee with which he was associated slighted him in their appointments. He probably had not the practical capacity for the work he was asked to do; at any rate the circumstances made his success impossible. But what was lost on the practical side was gained on the intellectual. His lectures on the 'Idea of a University,' and his sketches of University history are perhaps the most brilliant of all his writings.

He came back to Birmingham still eager for work; still willing as always to sacrifice himself for the cause to which he was devoted. He again found himself surrounded by disappointments and troubles. There was a proposal for a new translation of the Bible. It was to have an introduction written by himself to meet the growing wave of Theological Liberalism. Again he found himself met with distrust, this time apparently by Cardinal Wiseman, and left stranded. It is probably fortunate that he did not throw himself into this work, for the time was not ready for anything such as was proposed, and he had not a sufficient grasp of the position to be able to deal with it. Then came the period of trouble over the various movements of Liberalism in the Roman Church. Newman himself, if we may use the term, was an ultramontane Liberal. He had joined the Roman Church because it spoke with authority, and he did not desire to diminish that authority; but he felt the need of interpreting its teaching in language which would be understood by the people of his time, and with sympathy for their intellectual point of view. Sir John—afterwards Lord—Acton and Mr. Simpson were anxious to liberalize their Church and went far further than Newman was prepared to go. He found himself called in to try to make their Liberalism acceptable to the official hierarchy, and suffered as many mediators do. He failed to work with them; but he was delated to Rome for heresy. These years were the saddest of his life. He felt a failure; he felt slighted. The old period of enthusiasm and happiness was gone. He retired more and more into his personal religious life. Then came the virulent attack upon him, and through him on the Church of Rome, made by Charles Kingsley, and the result was the *Apologia.* He completely vindicated both the honesty of his position and the honesty of his Church, and was recognized once for all as one of the great English writers of his day. But further disappointments were to follow. A proposal arose that he should found a religious community in Oxford. From the point of view of his own Church it would strike the casual

observer as being the wisest thing they could do. Newman himself was prepared to go in the spirit in which he would have been welcomed in Oxford, refusing to do anything to weaken the Church to which he had belonged, but anxious to shew his own in its best light. He found himself then as always met by a narrow, cruel, tortuous ecclesiastical policy and by the ineradicable mistrust of the more extreme and active members of his Church, and the scheme was prohibited.

These years found him once again in opposition to the aggressive section of his own Church. To meet the growing power of secular governments and the rise of Radicalism, Pius IX and his supporters were anxious to build up on what they considered a strong basis the spiritual authority of their Church, and the movement for promulgating the dogma of Papal infallibility began. Newman was prepared to accept the doctrine in its traditional form, but he was entirely opposed to the movement and disliked still more the utterances of its advocates. He felt that it would mean the strengthening of just those forces in the Church which were most inimical to its progress. Like others he had to acquiesce in the decision, and he seized the opportunity of defending a moderate interpretation of the dogma in his 'Letter to the Duke of Norfolk.' He was now over seventy, but there was no sign of failure of intellectual force or literary power, and it was now that he produced his most original work *The Grammar of Assent*—a book which certainly cannot be considered to shew any signs of mental decay, and represents a new epoch in the philosophy of religion.

At last a change came. Pius IX was succeeded by Leo XIII, the liberal forces which had been so long restrained were allowed somewhat more freedom, and in 1877, in spite of the efforts of Cardinal Manning to prevent it, Newman was made a Cardinal. His last years were years of happiness. He was respected in his own Church, he had a unique position in his country, and he was once more on affectionate terms with his old friends. He spent his time editing his works, and died in the year 1890 in the ninetieth year of his age.

II

To follow the history of Newman's religious opinions we must remember his religious training. He was brought up as an Evangelical. He was from his earliest years of strong religious temperament and of great personal piety. He was 'converted' about the age of sixteen; but his inherited creed had little intellectual background. At Oxford not only was his intellectual nature aroused, but he found himself in contact with the then dominant school of Liberal thought; a shallow rationalism was the prevailing type of thought of the day. In politics attacks were being made upon the integrity and independence of the Church. The party to which he belonged was weak and feeble in Oxford and had lost its hold on the life of the country. The old High Church party had its traditions of learning, but was destitute of any ardent religious life. The power of religion was not great. Above all, Newman did not feel that there was any strength in the creed in which he had been brought up that could withstand either the intellectual or political attacks of the times. He has himself narrated the growth of High Church views amongst a body of the Oxford residents. No doubt the Romantic school in literature, the philosophical teaching of Coleridge, the revival of historical studies had helped. We need not discuss now the different elements which contributed to the growth of the movement. What is important is to recognize the strength of the position which Newman thought he had found. Clearly reason was a poor basis, it seemed to him, on which to build up a religious creed, because reason depends for its workings on the premisses with which it starts. He felt that authority was demanded, and he found in the teaching of the Primitive Church and all that it implied a position which seemed strong and convincing. Against the individualism of Protestantism he could assert the corporate life of the Church as he found it clearly depicted in the history of the early centuries,—a Church bound together by its different orders, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; a Church full of the Holy Spirit, with its

sacraments and its ordinances and its creed. The religious man no longer felt himself isolated like the Protestant. His religion came to him through a society, and was supported by a society. He found, too, the strength of continuity. The Church thus founded had been continued from generation to generation with its orderly succession of ministers, its inherited traditions, its creeds. What authority had the Scripture as an isolated book floating in the world? Little or none. But the Scripture given to each Christian by the living Church obtained the authority and sanction of that body. A living organism could speak with authority. The weakness of Scripture as an authority was that each man could interpret it as he willed; but here was a society inspired by God's Holy Spirit, inheriting the creed taught by the Apostles, with good and clear historical credentials, and in a position to say authoritatively what was true about divine things.

Nor was this position really a novel one. It was part of the inherited teaching of the Church of England. The study of the Primitive Church revealed what Christianity was. The study of the English Fathers revealed what the Church of England was. The tradition had never been lost. The new movement had the inherited theological learning of Oxford behind it. The religious fervour and earnestness, the intellectual power, the dialectical skill, the enthusiasm and loyalty of Newman seized hold of Oxford. The logic of Whately had given a very dry intellectual pabulum. It had no message for life, nothing to inspire enthusiasm. Here was a creed based on far richer thought, the creation of real theological research, which gave a new meaning to the ordinances of the Church, and a new strength to religion.

We are not concerned now with the history of the Oxford Movement. We know how it seized Oxford; we know how it spread to the country; we know how the seed sown by Newman and his friends has transformed the religious thought of almost every Church in the world. It is the fortunes of Newman that we have to follow. The doctrine of the Church gave him all that he needed, but

gradually the question arose, Was the Church of England really representative of this Church? How different it was from what he had read of in the early years of Christianity! How slow and indecisive it seemed in its utterances! What a strange figure the Georgian Bishops cut in contrast with Athanasius and Augustine! And then, where was the unity of the Church? Was not the Church of England in very much the position of the Donatists in Africa in the Fourth century, of the Monophysites in Egypt and Syria in the Fifth and Sixth centuries? Gradually difficulties came, and his position grew upon him. Was it possible to maintain that the Church of England was Catholic when the Bishops said it was not? He has stated quite clearly in his *Apologia* the reasons why he ultimately left the Church of England.

'And as far as I know myself, my one paramount reason for contemplating a change is my deep, unvarying conviction that our Church is in schism, and that my salvation depends on my joining the Church of Rome. I may use *argumenta ad hominem* to this person or that; but I am not conscious of resentment, or disgust, at any thing that has happened to me. I have no visions whatever of hope, no schemes of action, in any other sphere more suited to me. I have no existing sympathies with Roman Catholics; I hardly ever, even abroad, was at one of their services; I know none of them, I do not like what I hear of them.'[1]

And again:

'This I am sure of, that nothing but a simple, direct call of duty is a warrant for any one leaving our Church; no preference of another Church, no delight in its services, no hope of greater religious advancement in it, no indignation, no disgust, at the persons and things, among which we may find ourselves in the Church of England. The simple question is, Can *I* (it is personal, not whether another, but can *I*) be saved in the English Church? am *I* in safety, were I to die to-night? Is it a mortal sin in *me*, not joining another communion?'[2]

He pondered over the step long. The ties which con-

[1] *Apologia*, p. 229. [2] *Ibid.* p. 231.

nected him with Oxford and his old friends were strong. He examined and re-examined his whole religious life before he took the final step. There is a very interesting and pathetic letter published by Mr. Ward, in which Newman discusses the autobiography of his former friend, Blanco White, and raises the question of those who go wrong and form wrong opinions even though they are sincere.

'I see Blanco White going wrong yet sincere—Arnold going wrong yet sincere. They are no puzzle to me; I can put my finger on this or that fault in their character and say, Here was the fault. But they did not know the fault, and so it comes upon me, How do I know that I too have not my weak points which occasion me to think as I think. How can I be sure that I have not committed sins which bring this unsettled state of mind on me as a judgment?'[1]

A little later there follow some strange self-revelations.

'The truth is I have had so little praise that I do not understand it, and my feelings have been a mixture of bitter and sweet such as I cannot describe. . . . No one has spoken well of me. My friends who have had means of knowing me have spoken against me. . . Others have kept silent in my greatest trouble. The mass of men in Oxford who knew me a little have shewn a coldness and suspicion which I did not deserve. In the affair of No. 90 few indeed showed me any sympathy, or gave me the least reason to believe that I was at all in their hearts.'[2]

We need not dwell longer on this. No one will question Newman's complete sincerity. No one will doubt his earnest desire to attain the truth. No one will feel that there was any fault greater than might be natural to a man. Yet his temperament was just one which would little fit him for sustaining a cause, like that to which his name had become attached, in a period of doubt. He had not the staunchness of Pusey. He could always see the other side. He sometimes saw it too acutely, and there was in him a morbid sensitiveness of praise and blame that comes out elsewhere in his life. No one with any sympathy for religious difficulties would blame him; but we may be

[1] *Life*, i. 81. [2] *Ibid.*

justified in saying that the change in his opinions was a matter of temperament as well as of intellect.

But what of his intellectual difficulty? It is not our business at this moment to act as apologists for the Church of England. But we may notice that Newman's two motives were, first of all, the conviction that a separate Church must be guilty of schism, and, secondly, the inadequacy of the Church of England. With regard to the first, it introduces us to what we have to notice as the defect not so much of Newman's intellectual qualities as of his intellectual training. The training of the Oxford man in his time was purely literary and rhetorical. There was no scientific basis to it. We do not mean by this that there was no knowledge of natural science, but that there was very little scientific basis to their thought. We mean that he was better trained to write than to think; better trained to defend a cause than to search out its truth; better trained to follow out the stream of deductive reasoning than to find by inductive reasoning a solid basis in fact. That is the fundamental point upon which the theory that the Church of Rome is the only Church in which there can be salvation will always be wrecked. The deductive reasoning may seem attractive. Christ founded a Church. That Church must be one. There is only one Church that can really claim to be that one: therefore the Church of Rome is the only Church. But our train of deductive reasoning has brought us to a position which compels us to hold that the larger portion of the Christians of the present day, in East and West alike, are outside the Church, and those among the most enlightened and earnest Christians. The theory is inconsistent with life and reality. When we turn from the religious argument to the actual facts of religious life, we must answer that the theory is an impossible one. And as regards the Church of England, no doubt the Church of England was inadequate. It was inadequate then, and it is inadequate now. But is it the only religious body which is inadequate? Did Newman find when he passed over to the Church of Rome that he had entered a society which was in any way really

more effective for promoting the cause of true religion than the Church which he had left? And that leads us to the next point.

III

What of Newman's life in the Church of Rome? Clearly and markedly it had two sides. As regards his own religious life he had never any doubts or misgivings. It responded entirely to his religious needs. He had no religious difficulties. He felt at one with the history of the Church.

'From the time that I became a Catholic, of course I have no further history of my religious opinions to narrate. In saying this, I do not mean to say that my mind has been idle, or that I have given up thinking on theological subjects; but that I have had no variations to record, and have had no anxiety of heart whatever. I have been in perfect peace and contentment; I never have had one doubt. I was not conscious to myself, on my conversion, of any change, intellectual or moral, wrought in my mind. I was not conscious of firmer faith in the fundamental truths of Revelation, or of more self-command; I had not more fervour; but it was like coming into port after a rough sea; and my happiness on that score remains to this day without interruption.'[1]

And again in a letter to *The Globe* in the year 1862, at a time when rumours were current that he desired to return to the Church of England, and when, as a matter of fact, he was full of despondency, he wrote clearly and explicitly, and there is no reason to doubt his statement.

'I have not had one moment's wavering of trust in the Catholic Church ever since I was received into her fold. I hold, and ever have held, that her Sovereign Pontiff is the centre of unity and the Vicar of Christ; and I have ever had, and have still, an unclouded faith in her creed in all its articles; a supreme satisfaction in her worship, discipline and teaching; and an eager longing, and a hope against hope, that the many dear friends whom I have left in Protestantism may be partakers of my happiness.'[2]

[1] *Apologia*, p. 238. [2] *Life*, i. 580.

There are many other passages which might be quoted. On that side, there cannot be much doubt; but when we pass to the other side, to his relation to the policy of the Church he had joined, and more deeply still to its power as the defender of revealed religion, it is different. Let us look back for a moment on the ultimate motive which had led both to the development of his opinions within the English Church and to his desertion of that Church. He believed intensely in the truth of Revealed Religion, but he found how inadequate a defence of it was possible on the basis of the Protestant principles in which he had been brought up. He recreated the life of the English Church. How well he had succeeded he could not know until many years later. But again he felt the failure and inadequacy of what had been accomplished. How poor an engine this Church seemed with its divided opinions and its want of clear definite authority and utterances! At any rate the Church of Rome would give him what he wanted. Here indeed was the true Church! Here was a body which might speak definitely and with authority! Here was a great engine which might be used for the reconstruction of the higher religious ideals in every country of this world! Here at last was power! But what was the reality when he found it? In Oxford he had been a free agent. He might have to fight against want of sympathy, he might have to stand alone, but he could act. In Rome he could not even act. He felt the powerlessness which came from the opposition of his superiors. He felt it when he tried to correct the narrowness of his Church, and was accused of heresy. He was prevented from working in Oxford, where he felt he might have done so much not merely for the Church he had joined, but for the cause of revealed religion in the world. He was delated to Rome; he was looked on by some as the most dangerous man in the Roman Church. This is how he describes the position of the Roman Community.

'At present things are in appearance as effete, though in a different way, thank God, as they were in the tenth century. We are sinking into a sort of Novatianism—the heresy which the

early Popes so strenuously resisted. Instead of aiming at being a world-wide power, we are shrinking into ourselves, narrowing the lines of communion, trembling at freedom of thought, and using the language of dismay and despair at the prospect before us, instead of, with the high spirit of the warrior, going out conquering and to conquer.' [1]

In a letter of Mgr. Talbot to Manning we have a representation of the official Roman point of view. 'What is the province of the laity?' he writes. 'To hunt, to shoot, to entertain. These matters they understand, but to meddle with ecclesiastical matters they have no right at all. . . . Dr. Newman is the most dangerous man in England, and you will see that he will make use of the laity against your Grace.' [2] No wonder that when opposed to a spirit like this he feels dissatisfied. 'I have no friend at Rome, I have laboured in England, to be misrepresented, backbitten and scorned. I have laboured in Ireland, with a door ever shut in my face. I seem to have had many failures, and what I did well was not understood. I do not think I am saying this in any bitterness.' [3] 'O my God, I seem to have wasted these years that I have been a Catholic. What I wrote as a Protestant has had far greater power, force, meaning, success, than my Catholic works, and this troubles me a great deal.' [4] 'Catholics did not make us Catholics; Oxford made us Catholics.' [5]

We need not multiply extracts any longer. He found himself opposed by two forces: the official hierarchy and the theologians. The one suppressed freedom of action, and the other freedom of thought. He felt that there was need for a new theology, a new statement of the traditional creed in a manner suited to the needs of the day, but any attempt that he might essay to make such a re-statement was always checked and thwarted. 'We need a "Novum Organum" in Theology.' He felt, Mr. Ward tells us, that 'the living Church alone could inspire such a Theology, and secure . . . its continuity and essential identity with earlier Christian thought.' 'Patristic and scholastic theology,'

[1] *Life*, ii. 127. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 147. [3] *Ibid.* i. 577.
[4] *Ibid.* i. 578. [5] *Ibid.* ii. 57.

he wrote, 'each involved a creative act of the intellect . . . There is no greater mistake surely than to suppose that revealed truth precludes originality in the treatment of it.'[1]

There was no one who could have created a new theology better than Newman, had he been free; but he was not free. There are really three great aspects of Christianity: Protestantism, Catholicism, and Romanism. The Protestant bases his belief on the direct responsibility of the individual soul to God, and that represents the fundamental basis of every man's religion. In a sense every religious man must be a Protestant. In a sense Protestantism should underlie any theory of the Church, of sacraments, or of Church order. But Protestantism alone is inadequate and weak. It has no historical basis. It is divorced from corporate action; it cannot speak with power or authority. All this Catholicism gives. It gives to each religious man continuity with the whole past life of the Church. It makes him feel that he is living, not as a single individual, but as the member of a great society—a spiritual body in communion with Christ. He feels that he has behind his beliefs the authority not of a machine, not of an organization which may promote its views by the application of physical force, but of the spiritual influence of a living body of Christian men. Superimposed on this has grown up the spirit represented by Romanism. It represents an institution rather than a life. It fears what is intellectual, it checks originality. While it appears to exhibit the strength of organized action, it has in reality the inherent fundamental weakness of destroying the religious life out of which it rises. It was to this spirit and this force in its strongest form that Newman found himself opposed. Within the body of the Church of Rome he found the full life of Catholic Christianity. He might have found it, if he had been a little patient, in the Church of England. That full religious life satisfied his religious sense, and on that side he found the happiness he desired. On the other side he found himself opposed by a great machine which seemed to defend religion, but which was really its greatest enemy. There is a certain cynical tendency at the present time amongst those who

[1] *Life*, i. 436.

are least in sympathy with the Church of Rome to say that after all that Church knows its own business: that the continuous strong assertion of religion in a form which no intelligent person can believe is really the only thing possible: that any sign of weakness or yielding would weaken its position irretrievably: that Modernism in any form would be fatal to that Church. In fact they would uphold the policy of Manning, of Pius IX and Pius X as against that of Leo XIII, and Newman and the Modernists. There cannot be a more untrue position. What has the Church of Rome done? It has steadily undermined the religious life of all countries in which it is strong. It has succeeded in alienating its laity with the exception of those who are willing absolutely to submit. It has succeeded in suppressing the discussion of truth. Against the advice of Newman and of Döllinger, and many other names which carry weight, the dogma of Papal infallibility has been decreed, and one by one every movement for restoring religious life in the Latin countries has failed. It has had many opportunities. It had in Newman the greatest religious asset of the Nineteenth century, and it could make no use of him.

Since his time the story has been the same. Lord Halifax's narrative of his mission to Rome teaches us that the Church of Rome has not changed. It has never learnt wisdom because it always thinks itself very wise. It had a unique opportunity at that time of coming in contact with newer phases of thought, and it rejected it. The great Modernist movement arose. This had, of course, its elements of exaggeration, like all great movements, but it was an attempt to carry on the tradition of Newman in the Church of Rome; an attempt to do what he had said ought to be done. Again it was a tremendous religious asset. It had behind it some of the most intelligent thought of France and Italy, and again suppression has been the only result; and now France and Italy and many religious men in many different parts of the world who are entirely loyal to the Church of Rome are crying out for a religious creed which will not conflict with the demands of their intellect.

The fact is that the modern system of the Church of

Rome is as disastrous to the freedom of religious life as was the mediaeval system to political independence. It was the appeals to Rome, the constant transference to Rome of cases dealing with England, which formed one of the main causes of the English Reformation. There are just the same appeals, there is just the same interference, there is just the same want of sympathy at the present time. Here are further complaints of Newman: he had been denounced to the Propaganda for certain statements that he had made:

'Don't you see that this, if nothing else, puts a great obex to my writing? This age of the Church is peculiar,—in former time, primitive or medieval, there was not the extreme centralization which now is in use. If a private theologian said anything free, another answered him. If the controversy grew, then it went to a Bishop, a theological faculty, or to some foreign University. The Holy See was but the Court of ultimate appeal. *Now*, if I, as a private priest, put anything into print, Propaganda answers me at once. How can I fight with such a chain on my arm? It is like the Persians driven to fight under the lash. There was true private judgment in the primitive and medieval schools,—there are no schools now, no private judgment (in the religious sense of the phrase), no freedom, that is, of opinion. That is, no exercise of the intellect. No, the system goes on by the tradition of the intellect of former times. This is a way of things which, in God's own time, will work its own cure, of necessity; nor need we fret under a state of things, much as we may feel it, which is incomparably less painful than the state of the Church before Hildebrand, and again in the fifteenth century.'[1]

This is what the modern appeal to Rome means:

'Call me to Rome—what does that mean? It means to sever an old man from his home, to subject him to intercourse with persons whose languages are strange to him,—to food, and to fashions, which are almost starvation on one hand, and involve restless days and nights on the other—it means to oblige him to dance attendance on Propaganda week after week, and month after month—it means his death. (It was the punishment on Dr. Baines, 1840–41, to keep him at the door of Propaganda

[1] *Life*, i. 588.

for a year.) . . . Others have been killed before me. Lucas went of his own accord indeed,—but when he got there, oh ! how much did he, as loyal a son of the Church and the Holy See as ever was, what did he suffer because Dr. Cullen was against him ? He wandered (as Dr. Cullen *said* in a letter he published in a sort of triumph), he wandered from church to church without a friend, and hardly got an audience from the Pope. And I too should go from St. Philip to Our Lady, and to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to St. Laurence and to St. Cecilia, and, if it happened to me as to Lucas, should come back to die.' [1]

Newman was right; a system such as this prevents the Roman Church from meeting the needs of the times. Had there been no Roman Curia, the Reformation of the Sixteenth century would have been on the lines of Erasmus and not of Luther; and were there no Roman Curia now the Roman Church would not have lost the educated minds of Italy and France.

IV

The accusation has been made against Newman that he left the Church of England to join the Roman Church as the only possible refuge from unbelief. This opinion was most definitely formulated by the late Dr. Fairbairn in an article in the *Contemporary Review*, in which he attacked him as sceptical in his opinion. Dr. Fairbairn was a voluminous writer, who was distinguished for his narrow attacks on anything that he imagined was ' Catholic,' and for a singular want of insight; nor was he particularly successful in these criticisms. What Newman had always stated was that he joined the Roman Church not because otherwise he could find no refuge from unbelief, but because he was absolutely convinced of the truth of religion. It seemed to him, as we have explained, the logical result of his premisses. There can be no doubt, however, that Newman, especially in his earlier sermons, used language which might seem to justify the charge of intellectual scepticism. It must be remembered that he wrote at a time when the Rationalistic movement was strong in Europe, when it was

[1] *Life*, i. 588.

claimed that everything should be brought to the bar of reason, and the competence of reason to decide on religious matters was accepted without any consideration of what its limits might be. If we turn to the *Apologia* we shall see that what he really maintained was this: that if on the basis of revelation certain doctrines were shewn to be true, *a priori* difficulties based upon what was supposed to be reason could have no weight.

'People say that the doctrine of Transubstantiation is difficult to believe; I did not believe the doctrine till I was a Catholic. I had no difficulty in believing it, as soon as I believed that the Catholic Roman Church was the oracle of God, and that she had declared this doctrine to be part of the original revelation. It is difficult, impossible, to imagine, I grant;—but how is it difficult to believe? . . . For myself, I cannot indeed prove it, I cannot tell *how* it is; but I say, "Why should it not be? What's to hinder it? What do I know of substance or matter? just as much as the greatest philosophers, and that is nothing at all;"—so much is this the case, that there is a rising school of philosophy now, which considers phenomena to constitute the whole of our knowledge in physics. The Catholic doctrine leaves phenomena alone. It does not say that the phenomena go; on the contrary, it says that they remain; nor does it say that the same phenomena are in several places at once. It deals with what no one on earth knows any thing about, the material substances themselves. And, in like manner, of that majestic Article of the Anglican as well as of the Catholic Creed,—the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity. What do I know of the Essence of the Divine Being? I know that my abstract idea of three is simply incompatible with my idea of one; but when I come to the question of concrete fact, I have no means of proving that there is not a sense in which one and three can equally be predicated of the Incommunicable God.'[1]

What Newman was aiming at was to define the limits of human reason. There may have been, it is probable that there were, expressions in his sermons which would be difficult to defend. No one in so hard a matter sees quite clearly from the beginning. But his main point was one to which no exception could be taken. He maintained on

[1] *Apologia*, pp. 239–240.

the one side that the ordinary *a priori* objections to revealed truth were invalid. He maintained on the other side that the ordinary arguments for Theism, such as the theologians of his own Church produced, were, as generally stated, of little or no value. He pointed out that reason only prevailed within certain limits: that the value of the reasoning process ultimately depended on the premisses, and the premisses were generally assumed in most arguments. What is there which can be objected to in this? Newman was probably not acquainted with the philosophy of Kant; but the one thing that Kant had clearly made plain was that arguments about the nature of things in themselves were ultimately of no value,—that it was only within the realm of phenomena that the ordinary rational processes of the mind can work. It is the same truth that Bergson has put in a still more trenchant form. Reason is only the product of evolution. It is simply a weapon which man has gradually developed to assist him in the conflict of life in the world. The reason is sound within the elements of experience, but not beyond. It is based on experience.

If, then, reason does not give an adequate basis for religion, what is the ultimate ground of our beliefs? That is the subject which Newman discussed in his *Grammar of Assent*. He wanted always something real. He wanted to get at the real facts of life and of nature. The argument of the technical theologians seemed to him unreal. Where was the reality? He must start with himself.

'If I may not assume that I exist, and in a particular way, that is, with a particular mental constitution, I have nothing to speculate about, and had better let speculation alone. Such as I am, it is my all; this is my essential stand-point, and must be taken for granted; otherwise, thought is but an idle amusement, not worth the trouble. There is no medium between using my faculties, as I have them, and flinging myself upon the external world according to the random impulse of the moment, as spray upon the surface of the waves, and simply forgetting that I am. I am what I am, or I am nothing. I cannot think, reflect, or judge about my being, without starting from the very point which I aim at concluding. My ideas are all assump-

tions, and I am ever moving in a circle. I cannot avoid being sufficient for myself . . . I have no other self to use. My only business is to ascertain what I am, in order to put it to use.' [1]

This is his starting point. He inquires what man is, and he notes that in all our ordinary judgements the ultimate grounds of belief and certitude lie not in our rational processes but in our mental assumptions—in what he calls the Illative Sense. We can illustrate his point of view best by the instance of our moral nature. If anyone will take the trouble to read any work on Moral Philosophy, whether it is written by a writer who thinks that he can explain the moral sense, or by one who does not—Dr. Rashdall's book on *The Theory of Good and Evil* is a useful example—he will find that ultimately our moral ideas resolve themselves into this: 'What is good? Good is what a good man thinks is good. And who is a good man? A man who thinks what is good.' In fact, eventually we find that we are so constituted that we cannot help thinking of things as good or evil, and it is in ourselves that that sense of goodness lies. Now, if we confine ourselves to morals, we shall feel that for most of us there is no doubt about this position. It is quite true that there is much diversity of opinion on what is moral. It is quite true that there has been definite moral progress from very low beginnings. It is quite true that we should not look upon ourselves as infallible in matters of morality, and we know we have made mistakes. Yet ultimately have we any doubt that good is good and bad is bad? We ought to do what is good and avoid what is bad. We should take trouble to know what is good. More than that we know certainly that for ourselves some things are good, and we know quite certainly that many things which are done by others are bad in themselves, and that many things which men do are bad in the way that they are done, and this conviction we know will remain strong however varied our experience may be. We admit the limits to our capacity and the limits of our judgement, but

[1] *A Grammar of Assent*, p. 347.

we do not doubt the ultimate sanction of morality, and we know that human society depends upon its reality and acceptance. So it is, Newman would maintain, with regard to religion. Our arguments may be both objective and subjective. On the objective side there is the fact of religion in the world. On the subjective side there is our own belief. We admit that many people do not believe. We admit that there has been development and growth in religion. We admit that we are not infallible, and yet for us the ultimate reality of life depends upon the acceptance of certain religious truths. Then, starting from this basis of Theism, we find corresponding to the needs and aspirations of the human mind a religious revelation. It is the correspondence between the facts of revelation and the facts of human life that ultimately forms the basis for Newman, and we believe the right basis for his religious belief.

There are two or three further points with regard to Newman's philosophical basis of religion which we may mention. The first is as to its genesis. Clearly Newman's mind was ultimately built up on the writings of two great philosophers: on Aristotle and on Butler. He had learnt from Aristotle that the ultimate basis of all reason must be the facts of human life (ἀρχὴ τὸ ὅτι). The fundamental starting point must be the actual facts of life and existence. Reason is absolutely valid within the limits of real facts. Reason will prevent you from accepting as facts things which are not such. Reason will continually build up its structures on the basis of facts, but beyond the limits of these facts Reason is powerless. Granted, therefore, a revelation, Reason can work out particulars of that revelation. It can test its credentials, but it cannot say on *a priori* grounds that this or that teaching with regard to what transcends the experience is unbelievable.

Then, from Butler he had learnt that probability is the guide of life. And he shewed how an honest and religious certitude might be built on the basis of converging probabilities.

Secondly, Newman was really far in advance of the thought of his time. He was not a technical philosopher;

he was not a technical psychologist; but his teaching implies the psychological methods which have become popular at the present day. The old Utilitarian school of philosophy was based upon a psychology which was narrow and untrue to human nature. It was on the destruction of that psychology that the idealism of Green was erected. But both Utilitarians and Idealists had their minds concentrated on metaphysics, and did not fully recognize the psychological basis of their theories. Now the point of philosophical interest has changed, and it is the psychological problem that is recognized as requiring first to be attacked. What is the first step? Clearly the content of the human mind. On one part of this content which we call the facts of nature there has been built up a system of natural philosophy, and that system of philosophy has turned its attention to mental phenomena. It has come to it burdened with *a priori* speculation. Now thought has veered round, and it is recognized that you must ask what the human mind is. Clearly it exists for us prior to the world. Our knowledge of the world depends upon the human mind. What, then, is that mind? And so the psychologist is attacking the problem of existence primarily by an analysis of the contents of the human mind, and it is being recognized simply as a scientific fact that the religious facts of the world and of the human mind are as real as the moral, and the moral as the physical.

But one more point. Did not Newman in these speculations of his shew us where the failure of his religious creed is to be found? It is an interesting fact that, whereas during the whole time of his Anglican life he was defending Authority against Reason, when he joined the Church of Rome he was defending Reason against Authority. In the Church of England he wanted to check the freedom of unlimited speculation by an appeal to something which should restrain and guide the human intellect. He found in the Church of Rome all and more than all the authority he wanted, and he revolted against it. His error we believe lies, in the first place, in the conception that infallible authority was wanted for religious certitude. In the *Grammar of*

Assent he tries to shew how well the convergence of probabilities gives a reasonable basis for certitude. That we may grant. We are quite sufficiently certain for the conduct of life. The mistake that Newman makes is to ask for what is infallible within the limits of religion. We do not want the infallible there any more than we want it in life. We want adequate grounds for trusting to the venture of life.

Here, then, throughout lay his error. He was right in demanding authority. All revelation is an authority. He was right in looking for that authority not in the verbal inspiration of the Scripture but in the living voice of the Church; but he was wrong in demanding that that Church should speak with an infallible voice. Authority must always be the main principle on which healthy opinion is built up. But authority is never infallible. It is the sum of the experience of past generations of thinkers. It represents the accumulation of the knowledge of the world. It gives the wise man a starting point for future investigation and knowledge. New truths to be sound truths must grow out of the old. But once look upon our authority as infallible and it becomes a method of stereotyping error. So it is with religion. Our religious life is based on the authority of the Catholic Church. That Church, we believe, inspired by the Holy Spirit, has handed down the revelation of Jesus Christ from the first days of Christianity. It has interpreted it for each age. It has expanded and applied it. It has brought to its service all the highest gifts of the human intelligence. It gives us the starting point and basis of our religious life. It gives us adequate grounds for our religious certitude. But the Church is not, any more than the Pope, infallible. It represents a divine revelation given to us through a human medium. It does not save us the trouble of thinking or of using the human reason within the limits within which reason is possible. Every age must correct, must expand, must interpret its tradition. The authority of the Church represents the authority of a living voice, and not the stereotyped rule of an infallible guide.

The great mistake of Newman's life was, we believe, that he sought for the infallible, instead of being contented with a reasonable certitude, and the most pungent criticism upon that position is his own. Certainly the discussions on the infallibility of the Pope in the Church of Rome, and the stress which he as a loyal member of his Church experienced in sustaining the deplorable decision of the Vatican Council of 1870, form a sufficient condemnation of any system which would seek to give us in religion an infallible guide such as we would never expect to find in nature.

V

It is of course impossible within the limits at our disposal to discuss all the various points which are raised by so many-sided a nature as that of Newman. When a young Fellow of an Oxford College he was clearly looked upon as one of the men of the day who would make his mark. There were thoughts of his going to the Bar, and people speculated whether he would be Chancellor or Archbishop. It is perhaps doubtful whether either his physical strength or the character of his mental endowments would have fitted him for the strenuous work of the Bar. He applied once, it is said, for the position of tutor in the family of the ruler of one of the smaller German States, and again we may speculate what would have been the influence of his creative intellect on the strange politics of Germany in the 'thirties and 'forties. Later on he failed to be appointed Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, and again we speculate. But, as so often seems to happen, fate marked out for him just the career for which he seemed fitted, and if his character was many-sided it was dominated by one great controlling principle. His first and last interests were in religion. He was, if we may say so, a man of great religious genius. The religious progress of the world has always been the work of single individuals. Every great movement in religion has had behind it a character with a unique personality. What singles out the life of Newman from that of many other religious leaders is that with

him the intellectual side of religion was always conspicuous. He does not represent the simple personal piety of St. Francis. He could never be content with the continuous repetition of a single message like Wesley. His religion was entirely connected with his intellectual life, and he was always setting problems to his mind. There was in him great personal piety; there was a strong feeling of the necessity of corporate life. But both these were subordinate to his feeling of the necessity that religion should be in harmony with the highest intellectual life of his time.

His intellectual characteristics were dependent of course upon the Oxford of his day; and, as an able observer has remarked, the great feature of the leading Oxford men of the early part of the Nineteenth century was their want of scientific training. We may notice the same in Gladstone. We may notice it in many others who have been conspicuous in politics, in religion, or in literature. The basis of their training was primarily literary, and for that reason the Oxford of that day created one of the great epochs of the English Prose style. People talk of the Oriel style. By universal admission the most brilliant exponent of this tradition of literary expression was Newman himself; but there is just the same charm about the writings of many others, notably Froude and Church; and all Oxford men of that date seemed to learn to write their own language. What separates Newman from a writer like Froude is the accuracy and carefulness of both his thought and language. Froude was picturesque, descriptive, eloquent. He had all the tricks of the literary man. Newman was simple and exact in his expression. One of the characteristics of the Tractarian Movement was an intense dislike of display, and Newman's 'Plain Sermons' shew this in a marked way. To express your thoughts in the clearest and most exact language, with no slovenliness, with no purple patches: that was the ideal of Newman and his associates, and, as so often happens, it is out of a severe self-restrained school of writing that the best literature springs. Later in life he gave himself freer scope, or his feelings became stronger. He becomes more eloquent and more descriptive, but always

there is the same exactness and the same care of expression, and this literary style was the reflexion, as all great literary styles are, of his character. It was based upon extraordinary psychological insight. He seemed to see the workings of the human mind with a miraculous clearness. It was based upon a supreme power of self-analysis. It was inspired by genuine sympathy. He could be severe, he could be kind. Sometimes, as in *Loss and Gain*, there is an element of unscrupulousness in the play of the superior intellect with the bad logic and confused thought of his opponents. All these weapons made him a formidable controversialist. He had an instinct which told him what it was safe or unsafe to say, and when he was aroused, when his loyalty was touched, he could use all his powers remorselessly. What he could do many controversies shew, and especially that with Kingsley. He had an unerring instinct in choosing his ground. He avoided a fight when fight was dangerous. But though he was a keen controversialist he was a high-minded one. He might use an *argumentum ad hominem*: he would not consciously use a bad one; and he was ready to sacrifice himself for the sake of his cause.

The Oxford Movement was based, it must be remembered, on historical investigation. The point at issue was this: What really is the nature of Christianity? Was the popular religion of England in the 'thirties really the Christianity which had been taught by the Apostles and believed in the primitive ages of the Church? Newman, an Evangelical, turned to the writings of the Fathers, and he found a very different Christianity from that in which he had been brought up, and this he aimed at interpreting for the world. Was he a safe guide? Was his interpretation a correct one? Döllinger has told us that he knew more of the history of the Early Church than any other living man. Professor Gwatkin is always telling us that Newman was not accurate. That statement is probably in a sense accurate. Since his time the standard of accuracy and criticism in historical investigation has risen much. But inaccuracy with regard to details may be quite com-

patible with a general correctness of interpretation, and whatever faults there may have been in Newman, we are quite certain that he is a sounder interpreter of the early centuries of Christianity than is Professor Gwatkin, who may be accurate but seems now incapable of writing history. Since Newman's time much writing, much investigation has taken place. Every effort which criticism could make to undermine the attitude supported by Newman and his followers has been made. But substantially his interpretation of the characteristics of the Church from the time of Ignatius onward is true. How that Church came into being may still be a matter of doubt. There may be details of the picture which are incorrect, but that the broad outline of the Church of Irenaeus or Athanasius does not represent Evangelical Protestantism is undoubted. Newman may not have seen the whole of the truth in his picture of the earliest ages of the Church, but he saw a very important side, and one which had been neglected. For it must be remembered that he and those with him were original investigators in the highest sense of the word. They sought in Church history their religion and creed, and they were prepared to stake everything on their venture. They were not *dilettante* students playing with the intricacies of historical research; they went to the heart of the question. They went there because they thought they could find truth, and they built up their lives on what they found. The claim of Liberalism to represent unbiased research as against the great Anglo-Catholic school of Theology is impertinent.

And the influence of that work and teaching has been enormous. It has been said of Newman that he reformed two Churches. We could have wished that that statement had been entirely true. He certainly transformed the Church of England, for we very much doubt whether the movement associated with him could without him ever have had so much creative force as to accomplish what he did. He was undoubtedly the man of genius who stirred the flame. Others could carry on the work. He had lit a spark which burned in many minds. The magnificent doggedness of

Pusey was no doubt something better to rely upon during the period of uncertainty which followed, but without Newman the movement would never have been anything great. And its influence has been far wider than the Church of England. It has influenced the whole of English-speaking Christianity. Disputes about an organ in a remote kirk in the Highlands are the ultimate result of Newman's teaching. His theology has influenced the English-speaking world far beyond the limits of the Anglican communion, and many of those who have not accepted the teaching of his earlier years (and he himself would probably have modified that rigidity) have owed the content of their religious life to him. We have said that we could have wished it had been true to say that he had reformed two Churches. When he was in the Church of England he was in a Church where ideas could have free play. When he was in the Church of Rome he found his thoughts checked in every direction. He could not do what he wished. He could not make those who lived entirely within their own circle of ideas realize that if they were to win the world they had to speak the language of the world. Yet he sowed a seed which has constantly struggled to bring forth fruit, and the effect of his teaching may be still greater in the future. There can be no doubt that it was one of the inspiring influences of the great movement of the French and Italian theologians to bring their Church into touch with the intellectual thought of the day which we call Modernism. For the time suppression seems to have destroyed intellectual life, but the seed sown may at some future time bring forth its fruit.

There is one country where Newman's influence has never been felt, and where his name would carry very little weight, and that is Germany. He had, we believe, never learnt German. Had he done so, it would not have had much effect on his mind. The German theology of the 'thirties, whether the orthodox or the rationalistic, would alike have appeared to him confused, illogical, and unconvincing. The tendency of the German mind to spin cobwebs out of itself, and to think its cobweb the world, would have aroused all his keenest powers of satire and humour. The narrow

criticism which generally succeeds in proving that something is untrue by assuming its untruth he would have looked at with contempt, and we do not really feel that there is anything considerable in his writings which would appeal to the Teutonic mind. He is too clear and too logical to have influenced people who are never happy unless their thought is confused, and who are so engrossed in their own little sphere of study that they cannot see beyond it. Newman was not for Germany, nor Germany for Newman.

It is not a very profitable amusement to speculate on the 'might-have-beens,' but there is one speculation which we cannot avoid. What would Newman have been, what would he have done, had he remained in the English Church and at Oxford? One of the most striking features of his intellect was his power of growth. To have produced the 'Lectures on University Life'—no doubt the development of an earlier germ of thought—in the extremely unsympathetic atmosphere of Romanist England was a wonderful work of genius. But Newman's mind never rested. His *Grammar of Assent* was the development again of earlier thoughts, but it was on lines wholly modern; his doctrine of development in religion was different from, but has much in harmony with, scientific ideas of development which were coming into light; and in his old age we find him turning to the problem of the inspiration of the Bible in the face of a new world of thought which had grown up around him, with undiminished keenness and intellectual force, with a mind prepared for new developments. All this happened to him while living in the obscurity of a small religious community, cut off from the intellectual life of his time. But what would Newman have been if he had lived on in Oxford in the midst of its fertility of thought, its growing realization of historical investigations, of the truths of science, of German philosophy, of critical studies, all through the 'fifties, the 'sixties, and the 'seventies, retaining earnestly his religious faith, but never unready to learn new lessons? What would Oxford and England have been if Newman had continued on intimate terms with Church and with Mark Pattison, if he had been the friend of Westcott and of Lightfoot, if he had listened to

the lectures of Green, and had been in constant friendly controversy with Jowett? Surely the 'might-have-been' is wonderfully attractive.

We have spoken of the religious leader and the thinker: but what of the man? All who came under his influence and knew him intimately loved him. He was probably not fitted for general society. He was often shy and awkward. But for the friendly and sympathetic life of Oxford he was admirably suited. He had always greater gifts than he seemed to have. He was of a temperate and ascetic life, but his delicacy of taste was so great that he was selected, it is said, to choose the wines for his college. He was a devoted musician, but for years he refused to play his violin for fear of withdrawing himself from what he thought were the duties of his life. He was a man of singular self-denial. So far as we know there does not seem to have been any time when he had any wish to marry. He lived an ascetic life. He was extraordinarily affectionate. Is there anything more pathetic than the account of the meeting of Pusey and Keble and Newman in their old age at Hursley Vicarage? Probably there was never anyone who felt the break with his old friends as he did when he left the Church of England. Naturally it created friction, but throughout all the friction he retained his feeling of affection. Only for a short time just after his conversion can we accuse him of any unfairness towards the Church of England, but for the rest of his life he was always loyal to the Church he had left as well as to the Church he had joined. Is there anything more marvellous than his self-suppression through all the troubled years of his Roman life? Hampered by men of intellectual qualities far inferior to his own, suppressed by a hierarchy to which the term 'stupid' might be correctly applied, checked in all his enterprises for the good of the Church, attacked and condemned by those for whom he was working, he was unfaltering in his loyalty. We know both from letters and from pages from his diary what he suffered, but we know that through all these years he was never guilty of an act of disloyalty to those who treated him worst.

There is one other member of the Tractarian party

who will always be associated in our minds with Newman. Dean Church had defended him by the use of his Proctorial veto in Convocation when Tract 90 was to be condemned. He remained on intimate terms with him throughout his whole life. He was the historian of the movement in which he took part, and he has produced in the history of it a work of unique interest. He was in some ways the most able man that Tractarianism sent forth. He had a wider intellectual interest and a wiser judgement than any other religious writer of his time. He was one of the earliest to be attracted by, and to accept, the teaching of Darwin. He was one of those great men who, leading an obscure life and doing little, seem to influence all their surroundings. He had none of the waywardness of Newman, and he had not, of course, his creative genius. He could not have done what Newman did, though we may believe his judgement to be wiser than that of Newman ever was. He had probably a more intimate knowledge of Newman's character than any other man. He had known him as a pupil, he had known him as a colleague, he continued to know him as a member of an alien—and almost antagonistic—Church. He had the deepest knowledge and the finest judgement on the Church History of England of his own time, and he has told us that Newman himself had a greater right to the title and dignity of Saint than any other man of his generation.

ARTHUR C. HEADLAM.

ART. II.—THE GOSPEL NARRATIVE OF OUR LORD'S BURIAL.

The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. By KIRSOPP LAKE, M.A. (Oxon.), Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Early Christian Literature in the University of Leiden. (London: Williams and Norgate. 1907.)

IT would be a much pleasanter task to deal with Professor Lake's newer book, 'The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul'—

with which it would be possible to be very largely in agreement—rather than with the book named at the head of this article, from which there is such profound and frequent reason to dissent. Not that the manner of the older book was so painful as the matter, to many of his readers, was bound to be; nor, of course, that from so accomplished a scholar any reader, however widely he differed, could not discover something, even much, to learn. But if the conviction is at all justified that the treatment in 'The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ' is gravely inadequate, it will be right to put that conviction into words, and to try to give grounds for it by a re-examination of the documents and a re-statement of the results. With this purpose, the pages that follow are submitted to the public in the CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW. They are excerpted from a larger study which the writer hopes to complete on the 'Earliest Tradition of the Resurrection,' and they owe their selection simply to the fact that, as there are no supernatural accompaniments to this part of the Gospel story, it can at least be investigated without prejudice either to a miraculous or a non-miraculous interpretation of the rest of the narrative. If at this stage, where there are no disturbing factors, the Professor's procedure is from time to time so arbitrary as almost to suggest that he has more interest in detecting contradictions between the Gospels than in extracting truth out of them, there will be some presumption that he is no safer guide in the more delicate discrimination needed at other stages of the Gospel story. But the intention of this article (as of the series of which it forms a part) being constructive and not polemical, direct references to Professor Lake's book have been made as few as is consistent with clearness. The present writer will not claim that he has been able to divest himself entirely of *praejudicia*, and, indeed, he would regard such a claim in anyone else as good ground for mistrust; but he has done his best to investigate the facts fairly, and, as an honest historian and critic, to set them down as he sees them.

To make the intention of the following pages quite

intelligible to the reader, some summary account must be given of the line adopted in Professor Lake's book; and yet that is not altogether an easy thing to do, with justice to the author, since his own position, if definite enough in one direction, in another, and that which more especially concerns us, seems to be hesitating and uncertain. What is clear is that the dominating ideas of the book are expressed in the last chapter. There we see not so much the results as the preconceptions of the previous inquiry. The doctrinal presumption that the Resurrection cannot have happened in a particular way is to Professor Lake so strong that the historical evidence must, if it can anyhow be managed, square with it. He admits that the early Christians, including the women who related the experiences which St. Mark records, and St. Mark himself, and St. Paul as well, believed that Christ rose from the dead on the third day, and he does not really deny that that belief implied the belief that the tomb was tenanted by the body of Jesus till the third day and not afterwards; but he has to find at all costs some means of overthrowing the credibility of the evidence which convinced them.

When he first sums up the results of his historical inquiry, he frankly admits that they are inconclusive, and he does not ask for more than a verdict on that count of *non liquet*.

'The story of the empty tomb must be fought out on doctrinal, not on historical or critical grounds. The historical evidence is such that it can be fairly interpreted consistently with either of the two doctrinal positions—that the Resurrection implies or does not imply a resuscitation of the flesh—but it does not decisively support either. I have indicated which position seems to me preferable. . . . If we hope for [the Resurrection] in our case in such a way as to resuscitate the human flesh which will be laid in the ground, we must postulate the same for the "first-born from the dead." If we do not believe, and would not desire this for ourselves, it is illogical that we should believe that it was so for him.'[1]

But this tentative conclusion, as to the historical evidence,

[1] P. 253.

to a book which is entitled 'The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ,' and professes right through to be concerned with the subject of historical evidence,[1] seemed apparently too uncertain a sound on which to conclude the author's challenge to the adherents of the Christian tradition; and so, twenty-two pages later, after some allusion to contemporary Jewish belief, and to pagan conceptions of the death and resurrection of a god, and to the laws of chemistry and physiology, and to subjective-objective appearances, and to the Society of Psychical Research—none of which can be said to deal 'simply with the historical evidence'—we arrive suddenly at the novel result[2] that 'critical methods dealing simply with the historical evidence shew more and more clearly that the view is untenable, except on doctrinal grounds, that there was any resuscitation of the body of Jesus.'

Even the Christian Gospels can hardly contain anything more inconsistent than these two statements. Professor Lake's inconsistencies must be left to himself to remedy, though, if we may hazard the conjecture, we should say that it was exactly not 'critical methods dealing simply with the historical evidence' which had led him on to this more trenchant assertion of his position. But however that may be, and whether the Professor's reasoned and ultimate view is that the historical evidence is neutral or is adverse, it is the historical evidence, in the natural sense of the words, and that only, which will be here discussed. In this discussion St. Mark's Gospel will be treated as the earliest and primary authority; in that matter there is no quarrel between ourselves and our author.

It will be convenient to begin by setting out the words of the different Gospel narratives of the Burial side by side with one another; and with so much of preface, let us then plunge *in medias res.*

[1] P. 276. [2] P. 275.

St. Matt. xxvii. 57-61.	St. Mark xv. 42-46.	St. Luke xxiii. 50-54.	St. John xix. 38-
And it having become late	And it having now become late because it was Friday which is the eve of Sabbath	And	But after these things
there came a rich man from Arimathaea by name Joseph	there came Joseph from Arimathaea a well-to-do councillor	behold a man named Joseph being a councillor a kindly and upright man (he had not consented to their plan and its execution) from Arimathaea a city of the Jews	there asked Pilate Joseph from Arimath being
who himself too had been made a disciple of Jesus:	who himself too was expecting the Kingdom of God	who was expecting the Kingdom of God	a disciple of Jesus but ly for fear of the J
he approaching Pilate asked for the body of Jesus. Then Pilate	and making up his mind to it entered Pilate's house and asked for the body of Jesus. But Pilate wondered if he were already dead, and summoning the centurion made full inquiry of him whether he had already died; and learning it from the centurion	he approaching Pilate asked for the body of Jesus,	that he might take away the body of and Pilate
bade it be given up to him.	he presented the corpse to Joseph.		gave him leave.
And taking the body Joseph	And having bought linen taking him down he	and taking it down he	So he came and took away his body. Nicodemus too ca who had come to night the first time roll of myrrh an about 100 lbs. They took then th of Jesus
wrapped it in clean linen	rolled him in the linen	wrapped it in linen,	and bound in grave with the spices Jews' custom is to
and placed it in his new tomb	and placed him in a tomb	and placed him in a tomb	And at the spot wh was crucified there garden, and in the a new tomb
which he had hewn in the rock	which had been hewn out of rock	hewn	
		where none had yet lain.	in which none had y placed.
and having rolled a great stone to the door of the tomb went home.	and rolled a stone to the door of the tomb.		
		And the day was Friday and Sabbath was dawning.	There then because Jewish Friday beca tomb was close b placed Jesus.
And there was there Mary the Magdalene and the other Mary seated opposite the tomb.	But Mary the Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses were watching where he was placed; and when Sabbath was over . . .	But the women who had accompanied him from Galilee had followed and seen the tomb and how his body was placed; and . . .	

I

Joseph and Pilate (St. Mark xv. 42–45).

St. Mark (xv. 42) gives as the reason for Joseph's action in the matter of the Burial that 'it was now late, and it was Friday, which is the day before the Sabbath.' St. Matthew and St. Luke, as in some other cases,[1] take each one half only of the double statement of their authority: St. Matthew (xxvii. 57) says 'it was late'; St. Luke (xxiii. 54) 'it was Friday, and Sabbath was dawning.' All three Evangelists, however, whether expressly or by apparent implication, seem to be agreed that it was the approach of Sabbath, and the cessation of work which accompanied the Sabbath, which was the motive of Joseph's haste: and the Fourth Gospel attributes still more definitely this motive to the action of 'the Jews' (xix. 31), who begged Pilate to anticipate the slow death of crucifixion 'because it was Friday, in order that the bodies might not remain on the cross on the Sabbath.'

Two problems arise here: (*a*) Was the approach of Sabbath the real cause, and not rather (so the critics suggest) the Deuteronomic law of the burial of criminals?[2] and (*b*) What is the relation between St. John's account of the request of the Jews to Pilate, and St. Mark's account (followed by all three of the other Evangelists, including St. John himself, xix. 38) of the request of Joseph of Arimathaea to Pilate?

Prisoners who were condemned to be crucified were of

[1] The best known of these is St. Mark i. 32, 'Late in the day, when the sun set' = St. Matt. viii. 16 'Late in the day' = St. Luke iv. 40 'As the sun was setting.'

[2] Deut. xxi. 22, 23: *Ἐὰν δὲ γένηται ἔν τινι ἁμαρτίᾳ κρίμα θανάτου, καὶ ἀποθάνῃ καὶ κρεμάσητε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξύλου· οὐ κοιμηθήσεται τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου, ἀλλὰ ταφῇ θάψετε αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, ὅτι κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου· καὶ οὐ μὴ μιανεῖτε τὴν γῆν ἣν κύριος ὁ θεός σου δίδωσί σοι ἐν κλήρῳ.* 'And if there be for any sin a judgement of death, and he die and ye hang him upon a tree; his body shall not sleep upon the tree, but ye shall bury it on that day, for cursed by God is every one that hangeth upon a tree, and ye shall by no means defile the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee for lot.'

course in the hands of the Roman Government, and the place of execution was watched by a detachment of Roman soldiers. Now crucifixion was in its very essence not an immediate death. Criminals crucified early on Friday morning would not naturally die before sunset on that day; but they, or one of them, might very well die at some moment during the ensuing twenty-four hours: in other words, during the Sabbath. On the Sabbath they could not be buried, and the Deuteronomic law would therefore be violated by the corpses remaining on the crosses at sunset. Thus there was a special reason for hastening, if it could be compassed, the death of those hanging on the cross on Friday. But it could only be done, *ex hypothesi*, through the medium of the government and under the authority of the governor; and it is perhaps hardly probable that on any ordinary occasion the governor would consent to interfere with the normal processes of the punishment of criminals merely to obviate a possible infraction of the Deuteronomic law. On this occasion, however, the Sabbath coincided with the Passover—'the day of that Sabbath was a high day' (St. John xix. 31)—and Passover, with the crowds of Jews that flocked from all quarters to observe it at Jerusalem, was just the time when the danger of an *émeute* was greatest, and when even the most callous of Roman rulers learned to avoid all possible causes of collision with such turbulent subjects.

The preliminary account in the Fourth Gospel bears therefore, on the face of it, every likelihood of truth; nothing is more natural than that the Sanhedrim should have intervened with Pilate to anticipate the death of his prisoners, and it was precisely the imminence of the Sabbath which made it imperative to act at once lest at a later moment the Deuteronomic law should be violated.

Thus one of our problems is already solved, and solved in a way which tends to suggest a high historical value for the Fourth Gospel. But we have yet to ask, What is the relation between the two requests to Pilate—that by the Jews and that by Joseph of Arimathaea?

It would be natural to begin by saying that the two

requests must be independent, seeing that St. John records both. But considering the whole method of the Fourth Gospel in its relation to the other three, it is probably open to us to explain the notice about Joseph in St. John xix. 38 as a summary reminiscence of the more detailed accounts in the earlier Gospels ; and in view of the obvious parallelism between the two requests, and of the admitted tendency in at least the later stages of Gospel-writing to doublets—that is, to double descriptions of the same event—we must face and examine the alternative, that the two requests are not really independent of one another. What, then, are the facts or the probabilities on both sides of the question ? Who and what was Joseph of Arimathaea ?

We do not hear of him elsewhere in the Gospel story. On this occasion all four Gospels tell us that he was 'of Arimathaea,' [1] in order of course to distinguish from other homonyms the bearer of so common a name. All of them also, in order to account for his interest in the burial of Christ, tell us in one or other phrase that it was a mark of sympathy, if not of discipleship ; but the shades of difference in their description are instructive. St. Mark only says that 'he too was looking for the Kingdom of God.' St. Luke repeats the phrase—the verb of 'expectancy' was familiar already in his Gospel in relation to the circle of Simeon and Anna [2]—while St. Matthew definitely interprets it as meaning 'he too was a personal disciple of Jesus.' [3]

[1] *ἀπὸ Ἁριμαθαίας*, St. Mark xv. 42, Westcott-Hort (and compare St. Matthew xxvii. 57, St. Luke xxiii. 51, who presumably found this reading in their copies of St. Mark ; St. John xix. 38) ; but the meaning is the same as *ὁ ἀπὸ Ἁριμαθαίας*. St. Luke alone adds, for his Gentile readers, the explanation 'a city of the Jews.'

[2] *προσδεχόμενος* : *cf.* St. Luke ii. 25, *προσδεχόμενος παράκλησιν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*, ii. 38, *πᾶσιν τοῖς προσδεχομένοις λύτρωσιν Ἰερουσαλήμ*. Simeon was looking for the 'consolation of Israel' ; Anna spoke of the child 'to all them that were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem.' The closest commentary on the words is to be found in the language of Cleopas (xxiv. 21) : 'We had been hoping that it was He who should redeem Israel,' *ὁ μέλλων λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραήλ*.

[3] St. Matt. xxvii. 57, *ἐμαθητεύθη* (with *varia lectio* *ἐμαθήτευσεν*) *τῷ Ἰησοῦ*.

St. John summarizes the general impression left by the other three accounts as equivalent to 'a disciple of Jesus, but not an open one': Joseph, he means, like Nicodemus, would only have 'come to Jesus by night.'

It is clear, I think, that we must reject St. Matthew's gloss. If Joseph (or for that matter Nicodemus) had been a familiar figure to the Galilean women who followed our Lord, there could have been no reason why they should not have joined him; and the reason why the holy women were only 'gazing where he was laid' (St. Mark xv. 47), and did not come up to take part in the pious offices of the dead, was doubtless simply that they did not know the men who were removing the body and did not venture to follow them into the tomb. Conversely, it is quite clear that all the accounts—St. Mark's no less than the rest—mean to imply that Joseph's motive was to shew respect and honour to the dead. And it is inconceivable that a Christian Evangelist meant by 'looking for the Kingdom of God'—that is, cherishing the Messianic hope—anything less in this connexion than a sympathetic and reverent attitude towards the preaching and person of Jesus Christ.

But, further, Joseph was 'a well-to-do councillor' or 'rich Sanhedrist' (St. Mark xv. 43).[1] The adjective used here by St. Mark is a favourite word with St. Luke in the Acts, to describe the Gentile hearers, especially the female hearers, of St. Paul (Acts xiii. 50 and xvii. 12). As St. Luke uses it, it is almost the exact equivalent of 'a gentleman,' 'a lady.' The grammarian Phrynichus, however, tells us that it was a common vulgarism to use it as a synonym for 'wealthy'—there were doubtless people then, as now, to think that a man of means and a gentleman were convertible terms; and this is probably the meaning of St. Mark (who tells us of Joseph's purchase of fine linen), and certainly the interpretation of St. Matthew when he paraphrases it by the ordinary word for rich. St. Luke, to whom the poverty of the early followers of Christ is one of the dominant features of the

[1] *εὐσχήμων βουλευτής*: *cf.* Acts xiii. 50, *τὰς σεβομένας γυναῖκας τὰς εὐσχήμονας καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῆς πόλεως*, xvii. 12, *τῶν Ἑλληνίδων γυναικῶν τῶν εὐσχημόνων*.

picture, both in the Gospel and in the Palestinian chapters of the Acts, refuses to interpret St. Mark's language of Joseph's wealth or even social standing, and prefers to think of the characteristic virtues of a devout Jew that waited for Messiah, 'good and just,' or, in more idiomatic English, 'kindly and upright.' [1]

Anyhow, Joseph was a Sanhedrist, and so was Nicodemus (St. John vii. 50): and it seems less likely that two independent or rival deputations from the Sanhedrim went on the same afternoon and with a similar purpose to interview the Roman governor in respect of the disposal of the bodies, than that the process of time and the incorporation of separate lines of tradition have resulted in the division of the component parts of a single action into two things more sharply separate than they really were in fact. Also if the deputation of the Sanhedrim was quite independent of Joseph, it is not easy to see why the body of Jesus should not have been removed, with the bodies of the two criminals, when the soldiers came with that express object and before Joseph appeared upon the scene at all (St. John xix. 31, 32, 38). So I think it not improbable that Joseph, or Joseph and Nicodemus, belonged to the deputation, or even were the deputation, from the Sanhedrim; and I should find a confirmation of this view in St. Paul's language as recorded in Acts xiii. 29—the Jews of Jerusalem and their rulers 'asked Pilate that Jesus should be put to death, and when they had fulfilled all the prophecies concerning Him they took Him down from the tree and deposited Him in a tomb.' But I think it is at the same time clear that Joseph made a special or separate request that he might give to the body

[1] *ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος* (with which compare the similar epithets used of Simeon, ii. 25, *δίκαιος καὶ εὐλαβής*); it is probably only a further comment on this description that St. Luke immediately adds 'he had not been a consenting party to their plan or its execution,' *οὗτος οὐκ ἦν συγκατατεθειμένος τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν* (xxiii. 51). The Evangelist, I think, is rather guarding against the natural prejudice a Christian reader might feel against a Sanhedrist, than drawing here on any special source of information.

of Jesus a burial apart from the criminals condemned with Him: the language of St. Mark, 'he made up his mind' or 'screwed up his courage,' is quite inexplicable, unless Joseph was making a request which would astonish either Pilate or his fellow-Sanhedrists or both. Abnormal as such a request to the executive government may be, it has been made and granted in our own times; nor is there anything improbable in St. Mark's statement that Pilate—who had condemned the prisoner so reluctantly—should give his friends free leave to do what they liked with the corpse.[1]

So far it is possible, quite rationally, to construct a harmonious account by the help of the Second and Fourth Gospels; but on one point a real divergence between them remains. According to St. Mark, Joseph appears to be cognizant of our Lord's death before he approaches Pilate; Pilate is astonished, but summons the centurion in charge of the execution, finds that Joseph is right, and makes no further difficulty about granting the request. According to St. John, the Sanhedrim makes its request to Pilate on the assumption that the prisoners are still alive, though in fact Jesus was already dead when the soldiers arrived with instructions to anticipate the lingering process of death and to remove the bodies. Both accounts cannot be literally exact as they stand; with the information at our disposal, we can hardly attempt to disentangle the difficulty; though I do not doubt that, if we knew more, we should find that each had preserved elements of a true tradition. The sentence in which St. Mark describes Pilate's consent it is impossible not to think original; on the other hand, the whole process of our investigation has led us to attribute the highest value to St. John's account of the action of the Sanhedrim. It is one of the discrepancies which not unnaturally arise when what is at bottom the same story filters down through independent channels; St. John gives us a Nicodemus

[1] St. Mark xv. 45, *ἐδωρήσατο τὸ πτῶμα τῷ Ἰωσήφ*. It is one of St. Mark's primitive touches that Joseph asks for our Lord's 'body' (verse 43), but Pilate gives him over the 'corpse.' No one of the other Evangelists retains the word; and all but five of our MSS. have substituted 'body,' even in St. Mark.

tradition, reinforced by reminiscences of his own ; St. Mark gives us a Joseph tradition, derived, if not from the lips of Joseph himself, at any rate from some one of his household.

If it is objected that Joseph and Nicodemus are not likely to have done more for the dead than they had done for the living Jesus of whom they had been such timid or lukewarm adherents, and that it is inexplicable that they should have gone to so much trouble and expense, and declared themselves so unequivocally, as the Gospels (on our interpretation of them) represent, I think we shall find a valid answer if we remind ourselves of the primary importance which attaches to the rites of burial in the conceptions of all primitive peoples and of some Oriental peoples to this day. Burial of the dead is of course one of the seven ' corporal works of mercy ' in later Latin Christian tradition ; it is more important than any of them to an Indian Mahommedan, if one may trust as at all representative the following story : ' Just as the grave was finished, the Mahommedans of the neighbourhood came and asked for the body. We said that none of them had done anything for the boy when alive. They said that that was quite true, and that certainly none of them would have nursed him when he was ill. " But the sin of neglecting a living Mussulman may be forgiven, but the sin of neglecting to bury a dead one is unforgiveable, and if we let Christians bury him we should all go to hell." So, as it could make no difference to the poor boy who put his body under the ground, we gave it to them.'[1] To the Jewish mind, as illustrated in the Old Testament, burial of the Jewish dead, if it does not occupy quite the same singular importance as in the story just given, took, nevertheless, a very high place among works of piety. The evidence of the book of Tobit is all the more valuable for this purpose because the ideal which it is written to inculcate is not so much that of the burial of the dead as the just and liberal use of money in general[2] ; but certainly

[1] *Oxford Mission to Calcutta*, Quarterly paper, October 1911 (xviii. 4), p. 97.

[2] Wages, Tobit iv. 14, xii. 1–5 ; almsgiving, iv. 7–11, 16, xii. 9, xiv. 11 ; prayer, fasting, almsgiving, xii. 8.

the thing which most strikes the modern reader is the stress on the burial of the Jewish dead in all circumstances, and especially on the 'magnificent' burial of those who have special claim on one. Tobit, who had himself so rigidly fulfilled his duties towards his nation in this respect,[1] demands of his son Tobias that he should bury his father and mother 'decently'; but the son does even more than his duty, and buries both his parents and his parents-in-law 'splendidly.'[2] The whole background of the book is the background also of the story of the burial in the Gospels.

II

The details of the Burial (St. Mark xv. 46).

1. 'He bought linen' or 'fine linen.' The detail that Joseph was at pains to buy fresh linen for the wrapping of the body seemed to St. Matthew and St. Luke superfluous; the latter omits, the former gives the essential sense by substituting 'clean linen' for 'newly bought linen.' But to the historian the detail is full of meaning; for it appears quite definitely, so far as St. Mark is concerned, to exclude the theory that Joseph was nothing but an emissary of the Sanhedrim pure and simple, whose object was to put the body unceremoniously and with all haste out of sight. Whether the motive of the purchase was that Joseph would not be content with linen that had been used but lavished of his substance on the finest and newest—this seems to me to accord better with the surroundings of the story, and in particular with the mention of Joseph's wealth—or merely that, in order to save time, Joseph bought linen on his way to Calvary instead of going home to fetch it; in either

[1] Tobit i. 17–19, ii. 3–7, iv. 17, xii. 12, 13.

[2] καλῶς . . . ἐνδόξως: Tobit, iv. 3, 4, xiv. 10, xiv. 11, 13. Compare, too, the parable of Dives and Lazarus, St. Luke xvi. 22: Lazarus simply 'dies,' the rich man 'dies and is buried'—no doubt we are meant to contrast the neglect of burial rites in the one case with their scrupulous performance in the other.

case, the Evangelist intends us to understand that, hasty as the burial may have been, nothing that was seemly was omitted.

The same thought that is thus indicated in St. Mark is further expanded in St. John: if the one tells us that Joseph brought fine linen, the other adds that Nicodemus brought spices and ointment. Critics have sought to find an irreconcilable contradiction between these two accounts, because St. Mark does not say that Joseph anointed the body,[1] and does say that the women came on the Sunday morning to do so. But it is essential to remind ourselves on what testimony St. Mark has constructed the separate parts of his account—namely, one part on that of the women or one of them, the other part on that of Joseph or some one in his *entourage*. Each witness told the story as it appeared to him; the women had not seen what went on inside the tomb, had not known the motives of Joseph and his companions, and are in no sense the guarantee of any of the details of these verses; while the function of Joseph's servant, to whom rather than perhaps to Joseph himself we incline to ascribe St. Mark's knowledge, may easily have been limited to the purchase of the linen and the wrapping of the body in it after the deposition from the Cross. We can well believe that more than one motive would combine to suggest to the principal actors as much secrecy as possible in the performance of the more honourable rites. And even if no motive of the sort had been present, it is a commonplace of historical investigation that witnesses naturally relate those details in which they have happened to participate themselves, and historians naturally emphasize those details for which they have direct testimony. If the share of St. Mark's informant in the proceedings had stopped short at the deposition of the body and the wrapping it in linen, it is not wonderful that the details as supplied by him to St. Mark stop short at the same place; and this also is exactly so much as would have been visible to the party

[1] It is not, of course, strictly true to assert with Professor Lake (p. 171) that 'Mark says that Joseph . . . did not anoint the body.'

of Galilean followers.[1] Even if these women had realized, more fully than perhaps they did, that the burial was being carried out decently and reverently, we can surely understand how their passionate devotion would refuse to be content with honours rendered by strangers and by men, and that nothing would induce them to forego the performance on their own part, with all the prodigality in their power of money (St. Mark xvi. 1) and of labour (St. Luke xxiii. 56), of the last offices which they could render to their dead Master.

2. We return to the Marcan account: Joseph 'when he had taken down' the body from the Cross, 'swathed' it in the linen. The word here rendered 'swathed' is found in the LXX, and is not quite uncommon in late Greek generally, whether in the literal sense or, more rarely, in the metaphorical sense of 'involved'; but St. Matthew and St. Luke agree to substitute for it a much more uncommon word of substantially the same meaning.[2] It is in the last degree unlikely that they should both have independently hit upon this change; if the text in the two Gospels is correct, I should find here a confirmation of what I have to come to think probable—namely, that our Third Evangelist had seen the work of the First at some very late stage of the composition of his own Gospel, and had borrowed from it just a touch here and there.

3. 'And laid Him in a rock-hewn sepulchre'[3]—or, more

[1] I should not be concerned at this point to defend the exactitude of St. John's reminiscences if it seemed to me that they were really inconsistent with St. Mark's story. But the methods adopted by some modern critics would make havoc with the possibility of the historical reconstruction of such an event as, say, the battle of Waterloo.

[2] ἐνείλησεν (Mark), ἐνετύλιξεν (Matthew, Luke). Possibly, to the second Christian generation, 'wrapped' seemed a more reverent term than 'swathed,' 'rolled.'

[3] For 'sepulchre' St. Mark uses two Greek words in the same verse: μνῆμα and μνημεῖον. St. Luke also uses both words, but at a rather greater distance from one another: μνῆμα in xxiii. 53, xxiv. 1, μνημεῖον in xxiii. 55, xxiv. 2. Of these two words, St. Matthew uses only μνημεῖον, but varies it with τάφος (xxvii. 61, 64, 66,

literally, 'a sepulchre which had been hewn out of rock'—one of those tombs which, we are told, honeycomb the sides of the hills in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Neither St. Matthew nor St. Luke like the cumbrous construction with the perfect passive participle, and each in his own way modifies his exemplar. St. Matthew (xxvii. 60) substitutes the active verb 'the sepulchre which he had hewn in the rock,' and therewith asserts (what St. Mark does not) that the tomb was Joseph's own property. St. Luke (xxiii. 53) more simply speaks of 'a hewn sepulchre,'[1] λαξευτόν for λελατομημένον. Both words have LXX authority,[2] they are philologically related and to some extent synonymous, and the obvious view to take is that St. Luke did here what he had done in hundreds of other places, and on stylistic grounds preferred one synonym to another. It has been urged, however, that he too read into his original an idea which was not there, and interpreted St. Mark's 'hewn out of rock' to mean a tomb 'made of hewn stone.'[3] It would be just possible for a careless reader so to misinterpret these words of St. Mark; and St. Luke, who was not a spectator of events at Jerusalem, may not have possessed the local and topographical knowledge which would have saved him from the blunder. And I should not like to assert positively that, if we had not got the other Gospels before us, it might not be possible to explain St. Luke's phrase as the critic has explained it. It will be right, then, to leave open the alternative that St. Luke may have

xxviii. 1). St. John uses μνημεῖον, and no other word, throughout the whole account—eleven times in all. μνῆμα and μνημεῖον appear to be practically synonyms; but μνημεῖον was apparently the commoner, though the less classical, word, and all MSS., save ℵ B, have substituted it for μνῆμα in St. Mark xv. 46*a*.

[1] St. Mark xv. 46, ἐν μνήματι ὃ ἦν λελατομημένον ἐκ πέτρας; St. Matt. xxvii. 60, ἐν . . . μνημείῳ ὃ ἐλατόμησεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ; St. Luke xxiii. 53, ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ; St. John xx. 1, τὸν λίθον ἠρμένον ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου.

[2] For λατομέω compare especially Is. xxii. 16, τί σοί ἐστιν ὧδε ὅτι ἐλατόμησας σεαυτῷ ὧδε μνημεῖον, καὶ ἐποίησας σεαυτῷ ἐν ὑψηλῷ μνημεῖον, καὶ ἔγραψας σεαυτῷ ἐν πέτρᾳ σκηνήν;

[3] Lake, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 51.

here misinterpreted St. Mark, though I do not myself think that he has done so.

Not only the Third Evangelist, however, but the Fourth as well, is accused of having misunderstood the nature of the tomb; and in this case the accusation is the more serious since, if well grounded, it would prejudice St. John's character as an eye-witness. But whatever ground may exist for the slight cast on St. Luke, the slight cast on St. John is wholly baseless. There could hardly be a more striking example of the value of the Concordance to the Greek Testament as a means of testing premature conclusions. St. John speaks, it is said, of the stone 'lifted' off the sepulchre (xx. 1), and therefore he must needs have conceived of a mausoleum—probably subterranean—closed by a slab, which had to be lifted away.[1] It is true that the verb used in the Greek means properly 'lifted up,' and that the preposition used in the Greek means properly 'out of'; so that those who are contented with this 'little knowledge' might naturally conclude that St. John is inconsistent with St. Mark. But any student who is ready to undergo the trouble may find out for himself that all the Evangelists sometimes, and St. John more often than the rest, use this verb *αἴρειν* in the sense of 'taking away' as well as of 'taking up,' and that in particular St. John employs it three times, within the dozen verses preceding the passage under consideration, of the removal of bodies from the cross, which of course were 'taken down' rather than 'taken up.' And if the student pursued his researches as far back as the eleventh chapter and the story of the raising of Lazarus, he would find that the 'sepulchre' (xi. 38; the same word as in xix. 41) in which Lazarus was buried was 'a cave,' and 'a stone was laid against it,' and that when Jesus said 'take away the stone' (xi. 39) His command is represented to us by means of the very same Greek word that in xx. 1 we are told can only mean 'lifted away from' the top of the tomb and not 'rolled away from' its entrance. And if the student is further willing to investigate the uses of

[1] Lake, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

prepositions, it seems that fresh surprises will await him. The Greek language has, of course, two prepositions meaning 'of' or 'from,' which may be distinguished from one another as signifying properly the one (ἀπό) 'from' and the other (ἐκ) 'out of.' But in the later Greek of the New Testament some distinctions observed in classical Greek begin to lose their force; and in particular these two prepositions tend to become synonymous, and one writer will prefer the one, and another the other. Thus of the four Evangelists, St. Matthew and St. Luke use the preposition ἀπό, 'from,' rather more frequently than the preposition ἐκ, 'out of'; St. Mark uses ἐκ half as often again as ἀπό; but St. John uses ἐκ three times as often as ἀπό. In other words, in about one case in every three where one or other of these prepositions is used, St. John would write ἐκ where St. Matthew and St. Luke would write ἀπό,[1] and in view of his numerous strange uses of this preposition no stress at all can be laid on it here.

4. To St. Mark's simple statement that it was 'a tomb which had been hewn out of the rock' the other three Evangelists all make additions of one sort or another. St. Matthew (xxvii. 60) says it was a new tomb, and that it was Joseph's own. St. Luke (xxiii. 53) says it was a tomb where no one had ever yet lain. St. John (xix. 41, 42), partly repeating from the earlier accounts, partly adding new material, writes that 'there was at the spot where He had been crucified a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre, in which no one had ever yet been laid; there, then, on account of the Jews' Preparation, because the sepulchre was close by, they laid Jesus.' The Fourth Gospel takes from St. Matthew the detail that the sepulchre was new, and from St. Luke the equivalent statement that it had never yet been used; and it adds on its own account two new points, the one that the sepulchre was in a garden, the other that its use was dictated by its nearness—that is to say, time was so pressing, if the burial was to be complete before

[1] Actual comparison is of course not often possible; but contrast St. John xvii. 15, *ἵνα τηρήσῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ*, with St. Matt. vi. 13, *ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*.

sunset, that a resting-place had to be found as near at hand as possible.

Of all these additional *data* there is none that is contradictory of St. Mark. The sepulchre may have been new, it may have been Joseph's, it may have been in a garden, it may have been close to Calvary, for anything that St. Mark says or implies to the contrary. We are not hampered in estimating the value of the later material by any need to choose between it and St. Mark.

The best attested of the additions is that which in one form or another all the three later Evangelists record—namely, that the tomb was used for the first time. It is possible that Christian sentiment had hastened to the conclusion that He who had lain in a virgin's womb, and had been wrapped after death in virgin linen, must needs also have lain in a virgin sepulchre; and if we adopt this interpretation, we shall naturally place it to the credit of St. Mark that he alone has told a simple story and either resisted the temptation to allegorize or wrote at a period anterior to the currency of the allegory. At the same time, it was nearly always true of Christian allegory, so far as I can judge, that the allegorism grew out of the facts and not, conversely, the supposed facts out of the allegorism. St. Irenaeus, for instance, found all sorts of mystical reasons why the Gospels must have been exactly four; but he did not arrive at the belief that the canonical Gospels were four by means of his prior belief that the winds or the cardinal points were four: on the contrary, he started from the belief that the Gospels were in fact four, and then looked round him to find what confirmation he could for this belief in the analogies of Nature or of Scripture. The Church of Smyrna, in describing the trial and martyrdom of its bishop Polycarp, dwelt lovingly on every point where analogy could be found between the passion of the disciple and the passion of the Master; but there is not the least reason to suppose that it invented the facts in order to found the analogies upon them. I should myself therefore conclude that the later Evangelists either supposed St. Mark to imply what they categorically affirmed, or, more

probably, that they rested here upon current Christian tradition.

That the sepulchre was Joseph's private property was an obvious enough deduction for the First Gospel to make from the account in the Second ; but it is rather noteworthy that, obvious as it was, neither St. Luke nor St. John makes it. St. Luke faithfully reproduces the vague and general language of St. Mark ; St. John supplies what appears to be an alternative explanation to St. Matthew's—the sepulchre was used not because it was Joseph's, but because it was so close. It is not indeed quite certain that the supplements which St. Matthew and St. John make respectively to St. Mark's account at this point are inconsistent with one another ; but if they are, the Fourth Gospel has the better claim to credit, for it is natural to suppose that the details of St. John xix. 41, 42 form part of the Nicodemus tradition—in other words, they are more than an interpretation or gloss put by one Evangelist on the story as told by his predecessor, more even than the incorporation of floating Christian belief, for they are to all appearance the parallel narrative of a second eye-witness. No doubt this second narrative was not put on paper straight from the lips of the narrator ; it will have simmered for years, perhaps for decades of years, in the mind of the Evangelist ; there is the chance that lapse of time or freak of memory may have played their disturbing part ; but, in the absence of reasons or presumptions definitely at any moment unfavourable, we should not be acting as sensible critics and historians if we shut out, here or elsewhere, the reminiscences of the Fourth Evangelist as a real element in the story as we try to reconstruct it.

One point, however, may with some confidence be ascribed, in part at any rate, to the personal recollections of St. John, that the site of the Burial was a garden (xix. 41). For on the Sunday morning at least he was present there (xx. 3–10) ; and garden-lovers will gather from his Gospel that it was the beloved disciple himself who had learnt from his companionship with the Master to be fond of a garden—' there was beyond the brook a garden . . . Jesus

ofttimes resorted thither with His disciples' (xviii. 1, 2)—and who therefore, alone of the Evangelists, noted that the scene both of the Agony and of the Burial was a garden, and that the figure of the Risen Christ appeared to the Magdalene as that of the Gardener.

5. 'And he rolled a stone to the door of the sepulchre.' We note that the sepulchre was on a sufficiently large and finished scale to have what might be described as a 'doorway,' and the stone by which the doorway was closed is called later on (xvi. 4) 'particularly big,' and one which the women unaided could not expect to remove. Clearly, therefore, we are not to suppose that Joseph had placed it in position alone; we must understand the singular verbs all through [1] to imply that, while Joseph was supervising, the heavy work was carried out by his servants. Such a form of door was not necessarily temporary; the same expedient is described in the same terms at the tomb of Lazarus (St. John xi. 38), 'a stone lay against it.'

St. Matthew combines the information of St. Mark xv. 46 and xvi. 4, and says that Joseph 'rolled a great stone' to the door of the sepulchre. St. Luke conversely omits all mention of the stone at this point, perhaps simply because it had no bearing on the narrative here and he reserved it till the occasion when it became of importance (St. Luke xxiv. 2 = St. Mark xvi. 4), more probably for the more definite reason that he found the same difficulty which any careful reader of St. Mark must feel, in reconciling the question which the women put to one another in xvi. 3, on their way to the tomb, with the statement of this verse. If the women had actually seen the sepulchre closed on Friday evening with so huge a stone, it is inexplicable that the problem of removing it should not have occurred to them before they were approaching the tomb on Sunday morning. St. Luke gets over the difficulty by dropping all mention of the closing and of the women's question on their way, and only betrays his acquaintance with this part of his predecessor's narrative when he tells us (xxiv. 2) that the women came

[1] καθελὼν . . . ἐνείλησεν . . . ἔθηκεν . . . προσεκύλισεν.

to the tomb and found 'the stone' rolled away from it.[1] But in fact it is to be noticed that St. Mark does not tell us in so many words that the women had themselves seen the tomb closed. And I think we may legitimately suppose the rolling to of the stone to be part of the Joseph-tradition rather than of the women-tradition. The following verse says, no doubt, that the Maries 'saw the place of the burial'; but the very reserve of this statement is perhaps meant to exclude the idea that they saw more than the mere site. Either they were not near enough in the gathering dusk, or they had retired homewards as soon as they were quite satisfied that no further transference of the body was intended.

This conclusion becomes still more probable, if what I believe to be the true text of St. Mark xvi. 1 is brought into relation with the preceding verse. There is good authority for omitting the names of the holy women entirely in xvi. 1 —'Western' authority, it is true, and therefore dismissed as negligible by the critics and editors of the past, but not likely to be so lightly treated by the critics and editors of the future. In this case the omission has this strong recommendation, that, if the ordinary text 'Mary Magdalene and Mary of James and Salome' be accepted, there is no conceivable reason why St. Matthew and St. Luke in copying St. Mark should have agreed to omit here the mention of Salome.[2] If the true text of St. Mark runs: 'But Mary the Magdalene and Mary of Joses were looking on to see where He was laid, and when Sabbath was past bought spices to come and anoint Him,' the relation of the dependent texts to St. Mark at this point becomes clear, and it becomes clear also that the break in St. Mark's narrative

[1] Compare, too, St. John xx. 1: Mary Magdalene sees 'the stone' removed from the sepulchre. Yet it is possible that both Evangelists, by 'the stone,' mean 'the stone which one would naturally expect to find closing the sepulchre'—just as we might say 'found the door opened.'

[2] St. Matt. xxviii. 1, 'Mary the Magdalene and the other Mary'; St. Luke xxiv. 10, 'the Magdalene Mary and Joanna and Mary [the mother] of James.'

ought to be placed before and not after verse 47. In other words, the mention of the women in xv. 47 is not meant by the Evangelist as the addition of further testimony to the process of the Burial, it is meant simply to introduce the story of Easter morning by accounting for their knowledge of the site of the tomb.

C. H. TURNER.

ART. III.—EDWARD KING, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

1. *Edward King, Sixtieth Bishop of Lincoln. A Memoir.* By G. W. E. RUSSELL. (London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1912.)

2. *Spiritual Letters of Edward King, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Lincoln.* Edited by B. W. RANDOLPH, D.D., Canon of Ely. (London and Oxford: A. R. Mowbray and Co., Ltd. [1910].)

3. *Charge delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens at his Primary Visitation, October,* 1886. By EDWARD KING, Lord Bishop of Lincoln. (Lincoln: James Williamson. Oxford and London: Parker and Co. 1886.)

4. *Address . . . at his Third Triennial Visitation,* 1892. (Lincoln: J. Williamson.)

5. *Charge delivered at his Fourth Triennial Visitation, October and November,* 1895. (Lincoln: J. Williamson.)

6. *Charge delivered at his Fifth Triennial Visitation, October and November,* 1898. (Lincoln: J. Williamson.)

7. *A Charge delivered by the Right Reverend Father in God, Edward King, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, at his Eighth Triennial Visitation held in October and November in the Year* 1907. (Privately Printed.)

8. *"Personal and Parochial": being Notes of Addresses on the Seven Deadly Sins, and Lectures on Parish Work.*

By the late Bishop King. Supplied through Rev. H. R. Scott. (London: S.P.C.K. 1912.)

It is not an easy matter to write a Life of Edward King, late Bishop of Lincoln. He was in truth a remarkable man whose life, nevertheless, was not remarkable; and yet his Life should be written. He, however, that writes it must not contemplate so much a narrative as a picture, not try to present a biography but a character. Mr. Russell has, I think, appreciated that this was the task before him.

Let us think for a moment how very restricted was the topographical area in which the Bishop's life was lived. Brought up at home—at Stone Park, near Rochester—except for a short time when he moved to the north-west of England to a private tutor, he went to Oxford for his University training, and after a short period of foreign travel and private tutorship, went as Curate at Wheatley; then became Chaplain, then Principal of Cuddesdon College; then went back to Oxford as Professor of Pastoral Theology, and there remained till he became Bishop of Lincoln. Oxford, Wheatley, Cuddesdon, Oxford again—all within a few miles of each other—covered thirty-seven years of his life from 1848 to 1885, and then Lincoln twenty-five years till 1910. And once established at Lincoln he was a stay-at-home Bishop, attending few ecclesiastical functions or public gatherings outside of his diocese.

And as it was a life of almost local monotony, so, taking it in order of time, it was a life with few dramatic incidents. His ministrations to condemned criminals under sentence of death, then a new departure for the English Episcopate,[1]

[1] The Bishop of Southwell is the only Bishop who, to the writer's knowledge, has followed in the steps of Bishop King, and confirmed in prison a prisoner under sentence of death. But it is not to be supposed that the Holy Communion has not been frequently administered to prisoners in like condition. Indeed, even under the stern clauses of the Act of 1828 (9 Geo. IV. c. 31, section 6) as to the execution of the sentence of death in cases of murder, special provision is made to enable the condemned man to receive the Blessed Sacrament.

and his own Trial are the only really striking features. With this singularly smooth current of the river of life there are combined, as so often happens, the deep pools of religious thought and devotion from which the saintly life is mirrored back. It is the power of goodness. And with it a great tenderness. His devotion to his mother with whom he lived so many years never ceased, and many will remember the daily bunch of fresh flowers put in front of her photograph in the Palace. When the writer's mother died, he wrote: 'The loss of a mother is the loss of one who took an unique interest in all one's life.'

His training at home under a private tutor and the teaching at Oriel, which had a thoroughness that later generations of Pass men have not received, working upon a singularly clear and sensible mind, no doubt produced considerable intellectual results; but as he never strove for the distinction of honours at Oxford, so throughout his life he never put himself forward as a great scholar or philosopher. Nor was he. But, at the same time, his singleness of mind produced a singleness and pureness of insight and, as in at least one other case known to the writer, the soul fed and enlarged the intellect. Of him it might be said in the language of St. Augustine: *Pectus facit theologum.* Like Mr. Gladstone, who so much admired him, he added a keener and finer edge to his intellect by the close and constant study of Dante. And then he had a saving sense of humour. This sense of humour and his great gift of sympathy were of enormous assistance to him when he came to administer his diocese.

It is noteworthy that till that time his relations with lay folk and especially with laymen of business had been of the scantiest. It is true that during his curacy at Wheatley he had to deal with a population of a large village, but this was only for about three years. It is true also that while Principal of Cuddesdon he was Vicar of the small rural parish. But with these exceptions, and moreover coming from a clerical household, his dealings were with clergy or with candidates for the clerical state; both as Principal and Professor this was the case.

I should think that few persons had been raised to the Episcopate in the English Church with so little knowledge of the laity. In this respect he was more like a Russian Bishop taken from a monastery. Such laymen, too, as he knew in his pastoral ministrations were agriculturists and agricultural labourers; and yet when he got to Lincoln he gained as strong a hold over the manufacturers of the city and the smack owners of Grimsby and Boston as over the ploughboys and country squires.

Though he had the honour of persecution at the hand of fanatical Low Churchmen, he was really not a Ritualist, either in the everyday slang sense of the word, or in its more scientific meaning. As to the latter, there is a paragraph in a letter, quoted by Mr. Russell, of June 14, 1887[1]: 'By all means be my Chaplain on the 22nd, and save me from scandalizing all the little acolytes by not bowing and bending as they could wish!'—which expresses correctly enough his slight acquaintance with technical ritual. As to the former, it must be remembered that he became Chaplain to Cuddesdon College at the urgent request of Bishop Wilberforce, and as replacing one whom the Bishop thought too advanced; and that when, for a similar reason, his great friend and associate in after life—Dr. Liddon—was removed from the Vice-Principalship, the Bishop thought that he had effectually safeguarded himself and had got a man on whom he could rely not to become extreme, when he pressed Mr. King to become Vice-Principal.

During the course of his Trial, while he keenly felt the right of the Church to ordain her own ritual, and the absurdity and tyranny of the supposed Privy Council rule that omission was prohibition, and loved the matters for which he was attacked, he still defended them rather as being what he called 'common-sense ritual,' than for any other motive. And after his Trial was over, so far as the Archbishop's Court was concerned, the Bishop at once, as Mr. Russell says,[2] 'complied with its requirements, and adhered to them all the rest of his life. "If

[1] *Life*, p. 129. [2] *Ibid.* p. 181.

any of my clergy," he said, "are brought before me on similar charges, I shall say to them—'I have had my head cut off on certain points; I request you to do the same.'"'

Nay, more, when the Lambeth Hearings led to Pronouncements by the Archbishops against the use of Incense, he recommended his clergy to submit. And later on, he urged obedience, though with certain limitations, to the ruling of the Archbishop of Canterbury as to Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament.

Though, I believe, the only English Diocesan Bishop who, as Bishop, has been a Member of the English Church Union, and as such naturally a Vice-President, and though he had been supported heart and soul by the English Church Union throughout his Trial, he more than once thought of resigning his position, as appears by the letter of January 8, 1899, cited by Mr. Russell,[1] and, as the writer knows, upon other occasions.

A characteristic note of his position as an old-fashioned Tractarian is found in the curious way in which he seemed to feel that for a priest to occupy any position except that of a parochial cure was something to be excused. Thus, in thanking the students of Cuddesdon for their presentation, he said: 'It is quite delightful to look forward to being a big curate in the Diocese of Lincoln and getting back to parish work again.' The parish as a spiritual entity loomed so largely to the early members of the School.

It was from this position that he started, capable of moving with the times but never moving with the advance guard, having a firm grasp of the Church's teaching in the matter of Confession, and of the supreme importance of frequent Communion for the laity and constant celebrations for the clergy.

In his last Sermon at Cuddesdon, after lamenting his failures and saying that he felt responsible for each soul that had passed to its rest since he had been Vicar, and how little he had done for them, he added[2]: 'But there were two things which cheered him; one was that he had

[1] *Life*, p. 247. [2] *Ibid.* p. 38.

led some of them to know and practise Confession, and the other that he had taught them Fasting Communion.'

And yet, if by Fasting Communion he meant Fasting Communion in the technical Roman sense, and not merely that the reception of the Blessed Sacrament should come as one of the earliest matters of the day, and before a substantial meal, he lived to change his views. Mr. Russell quotes [1] directions given on two occasions to priests that they should take some slight sustenance before celebrating; and on the latter occasion he states that this is his present practice. And there is a letter to a woman to the same effect in his *Spiritual Letters*.[2]

In these, as in all other matters, his one over-riding motive was the desire to save the individual soul to which he was for the moment ministering. And to this end he brought not only his knowledge and his sense of discipline and obedience, but also, above all, his powers of personal appreciation and his deep sympathy.

All these things combined to make his elevation to the Episcopate an epoch. For centuries there had been none like him. Dr. Liddon in his Consecration Sermon well spoke of the expectation that he would stand with Andrewes, with Ken, with Wilson, and with Hamilton. The analogy with Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury is worth dwelling upon. The Bishop whom Hamilton succeeded—Bishop Denison—stood at the time along with Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford, as the two best of the Prelates of the early Victorian Era: I mean the two who had the highest conception of their duties, and especially of their spiritual duties, and did their best to discharge them. Others were honest stewards in their administration; these two went further. But even from Bishop Denison to Bishop Hamilton there was a great step forwards; so again with Bishop King. Bishop Wordsworth, his predecessor, stood in much the same position to his brethren that Bishop Denison had stood to his, and few men lived a more saintly life. And yet it was somehow more apparent in Bishop King; perhaps for the very reason that his intellectual and scholarly gifts

[1] *Life*, p. 221. [2] No. 38.

were not so great. His holiness stood out above his other qualities. 'The holy and influential Canon King' is the perhaps not very happy expression which Archbishop Benson noted in his 'Diary.'

And the reference to Hamilton was prophetic. Hamilton, it is perhaps not generally known, was delated to Archbishop Longley, who was asked to try him just as Archbishop Benson was asked and induced to try Bishop King. Longley, perhaps fortunately, was not such a student of antiquity and hierarchical rule as Benson, and his answer to the complainants, while breathing the natural gentleness and discretion which made him what he was, threw such doubts upon his own jurisdiction to try his Suffragan that the complainants did not press the matter. But Hamilton was very nearly in peril.

Between Bishop King and his predecessor, Bishop Wordsworth, there were many differences of character and training. Wordsworth was such a scholar, so deeply read in the Classics and the Christian Fathers that, by comparison, King's knowledge was small. To Wordsworth, a Cambridge man, son of the Master of Trinity, afterwards a schoolmaster, conceptions of ruling and guiding by authority rather than by influence came naturally. It would be an exaggeration to say that he learnt from books and King from men, but like many other exaggerations the expression would convey some useful indication. The two men, however, worthily appreciated each other. It was a great relief and joy to Bishop Wordsworth in his declining hours, after he had resigned his See, to know that King was to be his successor. His reply to Mr. Gladstone, who had considerately informed him, was '*Deo gratias.*' And his family were aware of his great satisfaction that his beloved diocese was to be in such hands.

And so Bishop King set out on his twenty-five years episcopate, with the object thus expressed in his 'Primary Charge':

'What is the special work then, which God has called me to do? If I am not too presumptuous in speaking so definitely of myself in relation to God, I will say, I hope, if it be His Will,

that my work may be to bring home to the hearts of the people, and especially of the poor, the blessings of the Church.'

Or as he put it in more detail in a later passage :

'For this, my brethren, I earnestly invite your renewed assistance, that we may bring home to the people the blessings of the Church. That is, in other words, let us show how the Church in her ministry of the Word and Sacraments provides for the three great wants of man :—

Truth—Holiness—Peace.'

And nobly did he fulfil the task set before him.

From the outset those who knew him had but one fear, lest with the kindliness and tenderness of his heart he should be unable to keep the bonds of discipline tight. As a private spiritual counsellor he was known to be no rigorist. Mr. Russell says: 'Pusey thought King as a guide of consciences too lenient.' And no one can read the published volume of *Spiritual Letters* without seeing that matters either are simple and easy, or are apparently made so, if not to all, still to most of his correspondents, partly, no doubt, from his inability to see anything but the plain road of duty. Probably, almost certainly, the really hard and terrible cases have not been published. It may be doubted whether it was wise in these circumstances to give out what one must call an emasculated volume but this is a digression.

To return to the question of diocesan discipline. It was much more effective than had been expected. No doubt Bishop Wordsworth, who had been at much pains and personal cost in the matter, had very much raised the level of clerical tone, conduct, and work ; and the worst cases had been cleared out of the way. While much was effected by persuasion and by rousing the sense of shame, the Bishop did not hesitate to use his legal power when necessary.

In his 'Primary Charge'[1] he said :

'There are Parishes where there seems to be little or no provision made for the religious instruction of the young, from

[1] Pp. 74, 75.

which few or no Candidates were presented for Confirmation, or where, of such Candidates as were presented, few, or none, made their first Communion; where the Holy Communion is but rarely celebrated, and where, though the population is not large, the Communicants do not number more than one-fortieth, or one-sixtieth, or even one-hundredth part of the people: while in other Parishes of the same size, or larger, the proportion of Communicants is one-tenth, or one-fifth, or one-third. Brethren, these are the places where Church Reform is most needed, and where it may most safely begin. They are "spots" and "blemishes," and grievous causes of offence; not only in the Parishes where the wrong is done, but to the whole neighbourhood. The weeds that spring up in the field that is uncultivated scatter their seeds beyond the limits of the neglected land.'

'It will be my duty, after due warning, and with all fatherly forbearance and gentleness, to use such power as the Law may give me to redress these wrongs.'

A good illustration of his method may be found in his 'Fourth Charge' in the year 1895[1]:

'I have made no mention of the few parishes where the Celebration of the Holy Communion is but four or six times a year. There are still, I am sorry to say, some where this is the case; but the contrast is so marked between the present insignificant and happily diminishing number and the 233 parishes in which this practice prevailed thirty years ago, that I have thought it better to leave it as a matter for private admonition than to make it the grounds for public complaint.'

With the laity it was not so much a case of command as of example and exhortation and influence, and he soon obtained that position, which he held to the end, of a man so good that vice could not shew its face in his presence.

His great practical work lay in the increase of Confirmations and the extreme beauty and simplicity and directness of his Exhortations. His desire that all the young people who owned obedience to the Church should have every opportunity of receiving the blessings of this rite was continuous. He speaks of it in his 'Fifth Charge,'

[1] P. 9.

which records how he had been able, with the help of an Assistant Bishop, to offer every parish in the diocese a Confirmation every year; and he records that his previous practice was to make a similar offer every other year.

It seems that it was doubted whether a yearly Confirmation in each parish was altogether advisable, and in the 'Charge' he proposes to leave the matter to the discretion of each incumbent; but if desired, he was prepared still to offer it.

He was never tired of urging that every incumbent should offer to his parishioners a Celebration of the Holy Eucharist at least every Sunday and Saint's Day.

The diocese of Lincoln was, and is, mainly agricultural; but during the latter part of Bishop Wordsworth's time increases of population had shewn themselves in Lincoln, not so largely; in Boston; but especially at Grimsby and the adjacent watering-places, such as Cleethorpes. It was the care of Bishop Wordsworth to meet this new growth of population in the City of Lincoln. It was reserved for Bishop King to take similar steps with regard to Grimsby and its neighbourhood.

The matter was with him from the first. It is mentioned in his 'Primary Charge'[1]:

> 'The rapid growth of the town of Grimsby has made its spiritual needs very great. The population has reached 50,000; and I am told the number of houses built there during the past year equals the number built in the whole of the rest of the County. It is of the greatest importance that we should lose no time in providing Church privileges for the people.'

It is referred to again in his 'Fourth Charge' in 1895; and those who raised a fund of 1951*l.* for the Grimsby Church Extension Society as a birthday present to the Bishop on his entering his eightieth year knew that this was the most acceptable form of gift.

I do not think that Mr. Russell has quite appreciated the special anxiety that the Bishop felt for Grimsby. As will be seen a little further on, the spiritual state of the town

[1] P. 59.

was called to his attention by a very dramatic incident. Grimsby laboured under unfavourable conditions. Though at one time a small borough it had the privilege of returning a member or members of Parliament, and like so many small boroughs it became subject to electoral corruption. The common cure in such cases has been to merge the borough in the county, but Grimsby grew too rapidly for this and kept its member.

Then came the great development of the fishing industry under the arrangements made by the Midland Railway Company for carrying fish quickly and cheaply from Grimsby to all parts of England, and the wealth which thereby accrued to the owners of smacks and the dealers in the fish market.

The life of the smacksmen was hard, and I am afraid that sometimes cruelties were practised on the young hands. From these hardships the men naturally sought relief on their return to port in coarse pleasure, and altogether the state of the town left much to be desired.

Canon Ainslie, Vicar of Grimsby from 1856 to 1879, once in the 'seventies had occasion to explain to the writer how different the life of the Parish Priest who strove to do the work required for Grimsby must be from the quiet and reposeful life of some country Parson as described by George Herbert or in *The Christian Year*. Happily the efforts of Canon Ainslie and such as he, and of Bishop King and many laymen have so changed things that one may speak of the past without implying any reproach to the present. But it was otherwise.

If Mr. Russell is right in saying that the first convicted murderer to whom the Bishop ministered was a young fisherman in Grimsby who had killed his sweetheart, there was a strange coincidence in the autumn of 1893. There was a similar case which led to remarkable results. The whole story is perhaps hardly germane to the life of the Bishop and yet, as will be seen, he comes into it.

A young man who, in 1893, murdered his mistress was the master of a fishing smack, and he connected the murder with a remarkable collision in the North Sea when he was

in charge of a fishing smack called the *Ibis*, and had sunk another one called the *Fortuna*. After his conviction he made statements to the effect that he had been induced by the owner of the *Fortuna* to sink her, so that he might get her insurance money, the bribe being that the owner of the *Fortuna*, who lived at Grimsby, should give him the command of another smack sailing out of Grimsby, and thus enable him to continue to visit his mistress, whereas his former owners were intending to move him to Boston.

These statements he was supposed to have made to one of the underwriters on the *Ibis* and also to the Bishop, not in confession; and in consequence, the underwriters on the *Ibis* refused to pay the underwriters on the *Fortuna*, and there was a trial in the Admiralty Court to which the Bishop received a *subpoena* as a witness. He was prepared to repeat the statement which the man had made to him, but in the result his evidence, as well as that of the underwriter, was held inadmissible as being hearsay; and on other grounds the story was not accepted by the tribunal.

The slur or apparent slur thereby cast upon the truthfulness of the young man who had been the Bishop's penitent both puzzled and grieved him, and the impression was very deep. No one could have had his attention pointedly called to the incidents of the case without seeing how serious must be the state of society in a place where such things had happened as unquestionably did happen, and where it could be possible that the other suggestions, whether true or false, should be made.

Of the Bishop's Trial it is not my intention to speak at length in this article. It is a matter more for the history of the Church than for the character of the Bishop. All that need be said is that it brought into salient relief the beauty of his disposition—his humility, his sweet temper, his unwillingness to think ill, and his patience—and yet at the same time his sturdy reliance upon principle, and readiness to suffer for it, and the painstaking way in which he informed himself of all the materials proper to influence his judgement on occasions when he had to act. Then he left the rest to his Counsel. It must not, however, be

supposed that he did not suffer seriously under the Trial. After the Archbishop's decision, when the strain was over, his health broke down, and for a long period in 1891 he could not write.

Incidentally, however, one or two observations may be made in connexion with the Trial.

It is always a pity when great literary men undertake to handle legal matters without taking some legal advice. An illustration may be drawn from the recent *Life of Cardinal Newman* by Mr. Wilfrid Ward. He has endeavoured to relate the proceedings for alleged libel taken against Dr. Newman by Achilli, but has not appreciated that they took a criminal form, has mixed up civil and criminal procedure, and produced to the mind of a lawyer a hopeless jumble.

Mr. Russell has not made such serious mistakes, but he has not fully appreciated some niceties of the case, and has been, in consequence, rather unduly hard upon the late Archbishop. To begin with, it is not right to speak as if the Archbishop had received a petition from the Church Association.[1] No doubt that body was behind the prosecution; but the people who applied to the Archbishop were Mr. Read and his colleagues.

Again, Mr. Russell, referring to the common title of the action 'Read and Others,' writes: '"Others" presumably the opulent Councillors of the Church Association.' They were nothing of the sort; they were a Mr. Brown, a solicitor of Cleethorpes, and two persons—Wilson and Marshall—of the parish of St. Peter at Gowts, Lincoln, in the church of which parish the acts of Ritual complained of took place.

Nor do I think it fair to say that the Archbishop so loved pose and effect as to long to assert and exercise his jurisdiction; or that the reference to the Privy Council was made at his suggestion in order to make it sure that he could sit in judgement.

In his letter to the Petitioners on June 26, 1888, he stated that he:

[1] *Life*, p. 147.

'had failed to satisfy himself that he had jurisdiction in the case, and was unable to proceed to exercise any discretion in the matter without some instruction being produced from a competent Court that the jurisdiction referred to in the case of Lucy *v.* Bishop of St. David's was applicable to the Petitioners' case.'

If the writer were to argue the question of jurisdiction now, after the reflexion which many years have given time for, he would put it in a different form. But he would by no means withdraw it.

The Metropolitan is the person to convene the Court, that is, to settle that there shall be a trial. He is to preside and regulate details, and he is to summon the accused Bishop. The latter must obey his summons as he must obey a summons to Convocation, the sacred Synod of the Church. But he is entitled to expect, indeed, he ought to expect, to find, when he appears to the summons, a competent Court assembled to try him. And that competent Court is composed of all the Bishops of the Province, except any who, having been convened to attend, can offer the usual and recognized canonical excuses for non-attendance. If there has been no such summoning of the comprovincial Bishops, the gathering can at best be treated as a sort of Committee of the provincial Episcopate, before which a preliminary inquiry is taking place. Whatever may be the result of such an inquiry, the accused Bishop at any rate can insist upon the matter coming before the full body, not by way of appeal but by way of re-hearing.

The Court therefore was not adequately constituted. The use of the term 'Assessor,' as applied to each of the Suffragans who sat with the Archbishop, is a complete misnomer. An 'Assessor' is one who sits by and advises on matters of law the comparatively ignorant potentate who has jurisdiction to try causes,—be he feudal baron, doge, or mayor. The Assessor of the Court of Passage (*pays sage*) at Liverpool was such an adviser to the Mayor, and now in time has taken his place. If the potentate were a Bishop or Prelate, who might be an excellent theologian but unversed in the Civil or Canon Law, he would have an Assessor learned *in utroque jure* to advise him. The

Vicar-General—Sir James Parker Deane—was such an Assessor. The Bishops were not assessors but members of the Court. The mere fact that they were treated as assessors only and excluded from giving their advice on the question of jurisdiction might of itself have afforded the Bishop ground for Appeal, or for an application for a Prohibition.

The interest which the case excited was extraordinary. The writer has three large scrap-books full of newspaper cuttings, including some from Germany and Mexico, and a sheaf of letters from correspondents suggesting useful matters for argument. To one correspondent he would like again to express the obligation which all who were interested in the Bishop's defence should feel, to Mr. William T. Brooke—one of the writers in the *Dictionary of Hymnology*, who supplied him with the argument which secured a pronouncement that it was lawful to sing the *Agnus Dei*. Mr. Russell records the assistance, invaluable as it was, rendered by Mr. Jeune—afterwards Lord St. Helier. He should also have mentioned Sir Alfred Kempe, to whose zeal, labour, and learning much of such success as was obtained was due.

After the final decision by the Privy Council the Bishop in a letter of August 5, 1892, thus expressed his position as to Ritual. He wished their Lordships had spoken boldly about lights, and that vestments had been included. Then 'Ritualistically I should have been singing my Nunc Dimittis.'

His later declarations upon doctrine and discipline were four. As already said he had accepted, with certain limitations, the pronouncement of Archbishop Temple with regard to the Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament. In his 'Fifth Charge'[1] he spoke strongly against any reservation for the purpose of adoration, or any adoption of the modern Roman service of Benediction. He spoke not quite so strongly but still with a warning and deprecating note against the so-called Children's Eucharist, saying[2]:

'I cannot sanction such a service unless there are the three

[1] P. 51. [2] P. 51.

Communicants, required by the Rubric. In that case the children might be regarded as congregation, whom we have no right to remove; but, even then, I would earnestly ask any of my brethren who may desire to introduce such services, to consider the great risk of injuring the proportion of the faith by accustoming the young children to be present at a celebration when the chief object was not to communicate. It might be different if children were brought under the care of their own parents, who would themselves, as a rule, communicate.'

He was very much alarmed lest in the increased recognition of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints, the practice of asking the departed Saints for their intercession should degenerate into what the Twenty-Second Article calls: 'The Romish Doctrine concerning . . . the Invocation of Saints . . .' And he went near saying that no such requests for the intercessions of the Departed should be allowed. The whole matter came upon him as a new thing in his old age, and it may be doubted, with all respect, whether he quite fully appreciated it. He certainly charged against it in the same 'Fifth Charge.'[1] And, as the writer knows independently, the matter was one of distress to him—of distress that he could not see eye to eye with many of his comrades in the faith.

With regard to divorce and the re-marriage of the innocent party his general leaning against rigorism, which has been already mentioned, and possibly the example of his predecessor led him to allow the re-marriage of the innocent party. Like his predecessor he never quite faced the position, that if the innocent party could re-marry, it must be because the first marriage had been dissolved and was no more. In that case the guilty party is equally free from the bonds of marriage. No doubt it might be a possible view that by way of punishment or penance the obligation not to re-marry altogether, or within a limited time, or the partner in guilt—rules, some of which are in existence in some of the United States or in Scotland—should be imposed upon the guilty party. But they must be imposed, if it is expedient to impose them, as matters

[1] Pp. 34, 35.

of positive law, and unless or until they are so imposed, the guilty party is as free as the innocent.

The document which Mr. Russell quotes as embodying the Bishop's views on divorce [1] is a private letter, but he set them forth authoritatively, and with a great mass of reasons in justification, in his 'Fourth Charge' and the Notes thereto,[2] and in the course of this discussion he was led to an attack upon the Canon Law. The ancient feud between the Theologian and the Canonist reappears in this attack, in which he almost uses the language of an uninstructed Protestant, a passage which must remain a matter of regret.

The last of the four pronouncements to which I referred was that concerning the Deceased Wife's Sister. As to this he spoke quite decidedly in his last Charge. As Mr. Russell says:

'He bade his clergy refuse to celebrate such marriages or to allow the use of their churches for them.' [3]

The writer cannot quite pass away from this article without referring to the Bishop's position as Visitor of the three great Colleges—Brasenose and Lincoln at Oxford, and King's at Cambridge; each of which had more than once occasion to appeal to him. He took a great interest in these appeals, considered carefully the internal discipline of the Colleges and fortified himself with such legal help as the writer could give him. Once he held a Court in the writer's chambers in the Temple, where he was solemnly addressed by learned Queen's Counsel, a proceeding which gave him much amusement.

And here let us leave him.

'Yet had his aspect nothing of severe,
But such a face as promised him sincere.
Nothing reserved or sullen was to see;
But sweet regards, and pleasing sanctity.
. . . . . .
His preaching much, but more his practice wrought;
(A living sermon of the truths he taught;)
For this by rules severe his life he squared,
That all might see the doctrine which they heard.'

WALTER G. F. PHILLIMORE.

[1] *Life*, p. 279. [2] Pp. 34–45. [3] *Life*, p. 275.

Art. IV.—PROBABILISM.

1. *Theologia Moralis B. Alphonsi Mariae de Ligorio.* Tomi VII. Editio absolutissima (Vesuntione. 1840–1).
2. *Opera Moralia Sancti Alphonsi Mariae de Ligorio.* (Romae. 1905).
3. *Compendium Theologiae Moralis* P. Ioannis Petri Gury, S.J. Ab Auctore recognitum et Antonii Ballerini eiusdem societatis in Collegio Romano Professoris adnotationibus locupletatum. Editio undecima novis curis expolitior et auctior, praesertim responsionibus ad Vindicias Alphonsianas. (Romae. 1889).
4. *Synopsis Theologiae Moralis et Pastoralis*: ad mentem S. Thomae et S. Alphonsi, hodiernis moribus accommodata. Auctore A. D. Tanquerey. Tomi II. (Tournai: Desclée, Defevbre et Cie. 1905.)

There is perhaps no part of the teaching of the Church of Rome which has been so unfairly treated by controversial writers as its Moral Theology: and the common misunderstandings on this subject are for more reasons than one a grave misfortune. In the first place the Moral Theologians have dealt minutely with problems which it is dangerous to neglect, though religious people are too often willing to leave them in a state of haziness: and thus a Roman Catholic priest can sometimes handle with sure touch questions with which the Anglican clergyman and the Free Church minister deal at best in somewhat amateurish fashion. On the other hand, there is great need that the general attitude towards morality which the Roman Theology expresses should be subjected to frank and discerning criticism. Mr. Gilbert Chesterton [1] is but one of a school of extremely able writers, English and foreign, who would convince us if they could that Europe owes no gratitude to the Reformers. Before

[1] Would it be unjust to say that Mr. Chesterton has invented a type of Christianity which is childlike without being humble?

we accept this conclusion it is our duty to consider the Roman System in its weakness as well as in its strength: and it is in the Moral Theology perhaps that the strength and the weakness stand revealed in the closest connexion. If, then, we are right in wishing to promote an increased study of the Roman Moral Theology in non-Roman circles, a beginning may very well be made with the doctrine of Probabilism, against which so much of the heavy artillery of controversy has been directed. A writer who attempts from outside to deal with a system so vast and intricate as that of Rome, must approach his subject with diffidence. Since, however, it is open to a modern student to learn from members of the Roman Communion not only through their writings but in the still more illuminating intercourse of private friendship, his task is at least a far easier one than that of the anthropologist who seeks—without misgiving and apparently with success—to penetrate the religious conceptions of ancient and alien races.

I

Probabilism is a doctrine concerning the method by which practical certainty can be attained in doubtful cases of conscience. How far, it asks, is a man bound in doubtful cases to lean to the safe side? And it answers that he may take the 'unsafe' side whenever any strong and solid reason can be urged for so doing. The safe side—*pars tutior*—is the side which favours the law. The less safe side is the side which favours liberty. Thus, if it is doubtful in a given case whether I am morally bound to pay someone a shilling, the safe side is to pay, since this is the side which favours the law—the law which is possibly applicable in the case, *viz.* 'You must pay your just debts.' The less safe side is that I should keep the shilling in my own pocket. As to how far this conception of a safe side is a sound one we need not at the moment decide. It is sufficient to notice that the theologian uses the term 'safe side' pretty much in the popular sense.

With regard to the word 'Probable,' on the other hand, his usage is distinctive and peculiar. *Sententia probabilis*

est judicium nitens motivo gravi, licet cum formidine de opposito,[1] that is, a probable opinion is one for which there is something solid to be said, even though there may be still more to be said against it.

On the subject of what is permissible in cases of doubt, six distinct doctrines have existed among Roman theologians, shading off into one another by easy gradations from the extreme of strictness to the extreme of laxity. The six systems are as follows: (1) Rigorism or Absolute Tutiorism, (2) Mitigated Tutiorism, (3) Probabiliorism, (4) Aequiprobabilism, (5) Probabilism, (6) Laxism. A seventh system, Compensationism, can hardly be said to have a place in this series, unless indeed we accept the view of those who allege that it is but Rigorism in disguise.

According to Absolute Tutiorism or Rigorism the safe side is to be followed always. *Pars tutior, id est legi favens, semper sequenda est.* If there is the slightest chance that in the supposed case the shilling is morally due—if anything whatever could be said on that side, *i.e.* unless it is absolutely certain that it is mine—I must pay up.[2] This severe doctrine has been condemned. Among the propositions *condemned* by Alexander VIII in 1690 is the following: *Non licet sequi opinionem vel inter probabiles probabilissimam.*

According to Mitigated Tutiorism you may lean to the side of liberty if the balance of probability on that side is immensely strong. *Fas est opinionem sequi probabilissimam*[3]: [it is lawful to follow an opinion if it be very highly probable]; *i.e.* while the Rigorist says: 'You may not adopt the side of liberty even when the probabilities are all on that side, unless there is certainty,' the Mitigated Tutiorist says: 'Even without certainty, if the probabilities in favour of liberty are very strong indeed, the side of liberty

[1] Gury, *op. cit.* i. 51.

[2] The systems will be judged better if we consider them in relation to a problem of more serious moment. If my brother has had a touch of insanity, and some doctors hold, against others, that the symptoms will probably recur, am I bound to communicate these facts to the woman to whom he is engaged?

[3] Tanquerey, ii. 219.

is permissible.' Though Mitigated Tutiorism has never been condemned it is practically obsolete. *Hodie* (says Tanquerey) *de tutiorismo actum est.*

Next comes Probabiliorism. According to this doctrine you may take the side of liberty whenever the weight of reason and authority is in its favour: if the unsafe side is more probable, *i.e.* has more to be said for it than the safe side has, you may take it. Some would say rather: 'You may take the unsafe side if it is *notably* more probable than the safe side and has *much* more to be said for it.' Their meaning is that in order to justify you in deserting the safe side, you need not—as the Mitigated Tutiorist holds—have an overwhelming weight of probability against it: it is enough if there is a solid weight of probability in favour of liberty. Some Probabiliorists, on the other hand, are satisfied to take the side of liberty if there is a bare balance in its favour. It must be *probabilior*, but need not be *notabiliter probabilior*.[1]

Fourthly, we have Aequiprobabilism. This name explains itself. 'When the chances are even, you may take the side of liberty.' *Aequiprobabilismus* (says Gury [2]), *juxta quem licitum non est sequi opinionem minus tutam, nisi sit aeque probabilis ac opposita, vel fere aeque probabilis*; [*i.e.* Aequiprobabilism is the doctrine that it is not lawful to follow the less safe opinion, unless it be equally probable with the opposite course, or almost equally so]. Another theologian has summed up the Aequiprobabilist position thus: *Concurrentibus opinionibus aeque vel fere probabilibus, in dubio de legis existentia, licet sequi opinionem faventem libertati*; [*i.e.* in a conflict of opinions of equal or almost equal probability, where there is a doubt as to the existence of a law, it is permissible to follow the opinion which is favourable to liberty].

[1] For the view which regards Probabiliorism as demanding only a bare balance, see Ballerini's edition of Gury, i. 53 *n*. The maxim *Semper tenenda est opinio legi favens, nisi opposita sit notabiliter probabilior* is described by the annotator as Mitigated Tutiorism rather than Probabiliorism: to make it a fitting definition of the latter doctrine he proposes to strike out the word *notabiliter*.

[2] Gury i. 53.

The importance of this doctrine arises mainly from the controversies concerning the teaching of St. Alphonso Liguori. He began as a Probabiliorist, but his experiences in hearing confessions convinced him that this was an impracticable system. As to whether his later teaching is to be called Aequiprobabilism or Probabilism much disputation has arisen. The facts are briefly these. After abandoning Probabiliorism St. Alphonso published in 1749 a dissertation in which he asserted that 'one might follow a probable opinion, even when the opposite opinion was *more* probable, so long as the former rested on solid grounds whether of reason or authority.' In a second edition in 1755 he added a qualifying clause to this sentence: to the effect that one might follow a probable opinion against a more probable opinion 'unless the latter is notably more probable'—*nisi probabilitatis excessus sit notabilis.* Later, in 1762, fearing that this formula might be abused in favour of opinions tending towards lax conduct (*ad favendum opinionibus nimis benignis*), he published a new dissertation containing the following propositions: 'When the less safe opinion is equally probable with the safer, you may follow the less safe' and 'it is not lawful to follow a less probable opinion when the opinion which stands for the law is notably and certainly more probable.' This, assuredly, comes very near to Aequiprobabilism. In 1767, in the sixth edition of his Moral Theology, he wrote with somewhat similar effect. Towards the end of his life, being accused of Laxism, he disowned the name 'Probabilist' altogether. *Non sum probabilista: neque sequor probabilismum.*[1] Great authorities, however, declare that it is with the Probabilists that he is rightly classed.

II

We now come to Probabilism itself. This doctrine was taught first in Spain towards the end of the Sixteenth century. Before the Sixteenth century the question of doubtful cases of conscience had never been systematically treated.

[1] *Cf.* Tanquerey, *op. cit.* ii. 223–4.

The prevalent opinion in the Roman Church at that period seems to have been what would now be called Probabiliorism. In 1577 this system was criticized, and Probabilism taught in the following formula: *Si est opinio probabilis, licitum est eam sequi, licet opposita probabilior est*: [*i.e.* if an opinion is probable it is lawful to follow it, even though the opposite is more probable]. This doctrine gained ground very quickly, and for some time held the ground which it had gained: though Probabiliorism presently had a revival, in consequence partly of the famous condemnations of Alexander VII and Innocent XI.

Probabilism has been subsequently divided into 'moderate Probabilism' and 'pure Probabilism.' The moderate Probabilist holds that you ought to keep to the safe side wherever the opinion in favour of safety is *certainly* or *notably* more probable.[1] The pure, or simple, Probabilists hold that even if the contrary is certainly and notably more probable, you may still follow a probable opinion which favours liberty—a view which seems to come perilously near that of the Laxists (who, like the Rigorists, have been condemned by the Church)—a small group of writers who contended that it is lawful to follow an opinion even if it has only a slight degree of probability (*licitum esse sequi opinionem etiam tenuiter probabilem*). The importance of the 'pure Probabilist' consists, perhaps, mainly in the fact that this is the kind of Probabilism St. Alphonso may be taken to have had in mind when he said: *Non sequor probabilismum.*

More important, however, than the division between 'Probabilism moderate' and 'Probabilism pure,' is the distinction between ancient Probabilism and modern. A good many changes have come over the Roman Church since the early part of the Seventeenth century. For one thing the situation has been decisively changed by some famous pronouncements of the Holy See. As a trenchant criticism of a particular type of religious thought the *Provincial Letters* of Pascal can never become obsolete. But used, as Anglican clergymen sometimes use them, as the latest

[1] Tanquerey, *op. cit.* p. 217.

source of accurate information concerning the inner life of the Church of Rome, they are not a perfectly satisfactory authority. In 1665, *i.e.* three years after Pascal's death, Alexander VII condemned a number of opinions as weakening the bonds of Christian discipline (*Christianae disciplinae relaxativas*). He condemned, for example, the proposition 'that a man is not bound at any time of his life to exhibit Faith, Hope and Charity' (No. 1); that 'an officer (*vir equestris*), if challenged, might fight a duel to avoid the stigma of cowardice' (No. 2); that 'a priest might take the stipend for several masses and yet only say one' (No. 10); that 'an innocent man might kill a false accuser if that is the only way of escape from a false charge' (No. 18); that 'it is in accordance with justice to refuse to confer ecclesiastical benefices gratis' (No. 22). These and similar lax doctrines were condemned in 1665, and so was the doctrine —with which Pascal makes so much play in the *Provincial Letters*—that an opinion in a modern book must be held probable unless it is known that the Apostolic See has definitely rejected it as improbable. Pascal describes how certain Jesuits, after teaching that every probable opinion might be lawfully followed, then sat down deliberately to manufacture authority sufficient to give probability to opinions suitable to the convenience of every kind of sinner. It was important, then, to state—as Rome did state—that an opinion does not become probable merely because it has been expressed and never formally condemned.

Some further condemnations of a similar character were issued by the same Pope in 1666 and by Innocent XI in 1679. In the latter list are condemned the opinions that 'a judge may lawfully give his judgement in accordance with a less probable opinion': that 'we act prudently as long as we follow an opinion which possesses any probability whatever, even the very slightest—*modo a probabilitatis finibus non exeatur*'—this is of course a condemnation of Laxism—that 'it is not wrong to eat to satiety for mere pleasure's sake, so long as one does not injure one's health by so doing': that 'servants may steal to compensate them for the insufficiency of their wages, or for what they consider to be

such.' These are the kind of opinions with which in the minds of many Englishmen the doctrine of Probabilism is mainly associated. But the modern Probabilist accepts the condemnation of these opinions as authoritative. Much, therefore, of what we read in the *Provincial Letters* may for the present purpose be dismissed from the mind.

Modern Probabilism may be summed up in the phrase: *In omni dubio ubi agitur de solo licito, sequi licet opinionem certe et solide probabilem, etsi contraria opinio sit vere probabilior*;[1] [*i.e.* in every doubtful case where the question simply concerns mere lawfulness, you may follow an opinion which is certainly and substantially probable, even though the contrary opinion be really more probable]; or in this: *licet sequi opinionem minus tutam et minus quoque probabilem*;[2] [it is lawful to follow the opinion which is less safe and also less probable]—so long as it possess a probability which is real and solid. The words *ubi agitur de solo licito* are, of course, important. When a result has absolutely to be attained—when we are bound to avoid all risk—Probabilism is not held to apply. For example, you may not give doubtful remedies to a sick man if sure and certain remedies are to be had.[3] But in other cases of doubt the Probabilist follows the dictum attributed to St. Gregory of Nazianzum: *Si res dubia est, vincat humanitas et facilitas*—if the matter is doubtful, let us lean to the side of mercy—and defends himself primarily by the principle that an uncertain law cannot produce a certain obligation.

Put shortly, then, the various systems are as follows: Rigorism teaches that in doubt the safe side must always be taken. Mitigated Tutiorism that the safe side must always be taken, except when the weight of argument in favour of liberty is immensely strong. Probabiliorism maintains that you may choose the side of liberty without requiring this overwhelming preponderance, but still insists that unless there is a decided balance, or at least some balance, on the

[1] Tanquerey, *op. cit.* ii. 408. [2] Gury, *op. cit.* i. 53.
[3] Tanquerey, *op. cit.* ii. 390. Gury, *op. cit.* i. 55–57.

side of freedom the safe side is to be chosen. Aequiprobabilism holds that we need not take the safe side if the balance is even, but must do so unless the reasons in favour of liberty are at least equal (or nearly equal) to the reasons against it. Probabilism asserts that we need not take the safe side, even though the balance is in its favour, so long as the case for liberty rests on solid and substantial grounds, the moderate Probabilist adding a caution to the effect that the argument for liberty cannot be called solid and substantial in any case where there is a strong and certain balance on the side of the law. Laxism asserts that we are not obliged to follow the law as long as we can make out any case whatever in favour of liberty. The danger of this last doctrine is evident. 'In a time,' said Hegel, 'so rich in reflection as our own, he must be a poor creature who cannot advance a good ground for everything, even for what is worst and most depraved.' [1]

III

Such then is Probabilism as it defines itself by its relation to those rival systems which it condemns. Before, however, we can form any opinion as to its general influence on morality, we must understand its relation to the Moral Theology as a whole. The doctrine of Probability is but a section in the general doctrine *De Conscientia.* On this general subject the Church of Rome speaks out with strength and decision. Conscience, it is taught, is always to be followed so long as it is certain. During the course of the late war we were sometimes asked to drink to the toast of 'Our Country, right or wrong!' The Roman Catholic theologian might similarly raise his glass to the call of 'Our Consciences, true or false!' *Conscientia recta praecipiens semper*

[1] The relation of the remaining system—Compensationism—to those already described is an interesting question. The Compensationist teaches that a doubtful law has not the same validity as a certain law, but has more validity than no law at all: and that therefore an uncertain law ought to be obeyed unless there is a good excuse, a sufficient compensation, for breaking it.

sequenda est: conscientia invincibiliter erronea praecipiens pariter in omni casu sequenda est: conscientia invincibiliter erronea permittens eximit ab omni peccato; [*i.e.* A right conscience, when it enjoins, must always be followed: a conscience which is invincibly erroneous must, when it enjoins, likewise in every case be followed: if my action is permitted by my conscience in a state of invincible error, I am not committing sin.[1]]

Omne quod non est ex fide, says St. Alphonso, and adds *nempe ex dictamine conscientiae—peccatum est*; [*i.e.* everything which is not of faith—which is not dictated by conscience—is sin]. He further teaches that a man is sometimes *bound* to act according to an erroneous conscience (*non solum non peccat juxta eam operando, sed etiam aliquando tenetur eam sequi*), and adds that *probabilius* a man acquires merit by following an erroneous conscience, provided, of course, that the error is invincible.[2]

A *certain* conscience, then, is always to be followed. What of a doubtful conscience? This is the crucial point, and the answer is that in doubt we must inquire. *Ante actionem conscientia vincibiliter erronea per inquisitionem veritatis deponenda est.*[3] *Agens cum conscientia non certa violat obligationem de veritate inquirendi et ideo peccat formaliter*; [*i.e.* Before acting get rid of 'vincible error' by inquiring into the truth. A man who acts with an uncertain conscience violates the obligation of inquiring as to the truth and so sins formally.[4]] Meanwhile—till you have inquired—you must lean to the safe side. It is never right to act with a conscience which is practically doubtful (*practice dubia*), but the safe side must be followed.[5] If, on the other hand, there is no time to inquire,—*si consulere nequeas et adsit necessitas agendi*—if the conscience is therefore perplexed because each of the two possible courses seems to violate some moral law, choose what seems to be the lesser evil. In this case, says St. Alphonso, the law of nature is to be treated as more binding than the positive law of God

[1] Gury, *op. cit.* i. 37. [2] *Theol. Mor.* i. 3, 5, 6.
[3] Gury, *op. cit.* i. 37. [4] *Ibid.* i. 39. [5] *Ibid.* i. 41.

and than any law of man.[1] If both courses seem equally bad, the two rival precepts seeming equally grave, choose which you like. *Quidvis elige : nec peccabis.*[2]

These quotations express the views of eminent Probabilists. If it should seem to us, at first sight, that our Probabilists have here receded from their Probabilism—that they have become Aequiprobabilists or even Rigorists—this will be due solely to our own misunderstanding. So far as acting with a doubtful conscience is concerned, the Probabilist is entirely strict. He does not admit for a moment that he is encouraging the man of doubtful conscience to sin boldly. On the other hand he is abolishing practical doubt altogether. *Conscientia dubia deponenda est.* Till the doubt is laid aside, the safe side, if there is any, must be followed, Probabilism being strictly limited to this special work of laying aside doubt, and attaining practical certainty, even though 'speculative' doubt may still continue. When moral certainty fails *remanet ut recurramus ad principium reflexum cujus ope practicum dubium in moralem certitudinem convertatur* : [it remains that we should have recourse to a *principium reflexum* by the help of which practical doubt may be converted into moral certainty.[3]] An uncertain principle indeed cannot produce certainty. But a *principium reflexum* may be certain, and may, therefore, introduce in speculatively doubtful cases certainty good enough to act upon. Such a practically certain *principium reflexum* we find, says the Probabilist, in Probabilism.

Probabilism, then, it is to be noticed, does not come into play at all till we are dealing with questions which are doubtful, and doubtful to the individual most nearly concerned.[4] Moreover the word 'doubtful' is to be very strictly interpreted. In conflict with certainty—it is held—even with moral certainty of the lowest grade, no probability, even the strongest, is of the slightest weight.[5] Thus, since the Probabilist has to travel through all the grades of moral certainty before he has any use for his Probabilism, it follows that Probabilism is no mere device for enabling

[1] *Theol. Mor.* i. 10. [2] Gury, i. 43. [3] Tanquerey, *op. cit.* ii. 385.
[4] *Cf.* Tanquerey, *op. cit.* ii. 408 c. [5] Gury, *op. cit.* i. 54; *cf.* 39.

the ingenious casuist to evade his plain obligations. A doctrine which sets out by saying, 'Fulfil every obligation of which you are personally sure,' puts before us a stricter standard than most of us follow. *Utinam observaremus mandata Domini certa! Quid nobis tanta sollicitudo de dubiis?* [Would that we observed the commandments of God which are certain! Why such anxiety about what is doubtful?] Arising originally from the needs of the Confessional, the doctrine aims both at protecting the penitent from the personal scruples and fancies of his confessor, and at protecting the scrupulous penitent from himself. The principle, '*Lex dubia lex nulla*' (says Tanquerey [1]) '*saltem pro scrupuloso valet*': [that 'a doubtful law is no law'] is valid at any rate for the scrupulous.

But quite apart from the practice of Confession, and quite apart from specially acute scruples, we all need to frame some sort of theory, even if only a vague one, as to how moral doubts are to be dealt with. In each case of difficulty there is, no doubt, an absolutely right course, if only we could find it: and sometimes solutions which it has required a good deal of thought to discover commend themselves in the end to every unbiased judgement. Yet in most cases of honest uncertainty, the worst of all courses for the practical man is to weigh interminably the *pros* and *cons*. It is generally better to choose wrong than to spend the whole day in deciding. And here, at least, the Probabilist can claim a clear advantage over the Aequiprobabilist and the Probabiliorist. Their systems necessitate all the balancing and weighing which is just what we want to avoid. The Probabilist need make no minute comparisons. Supposing that the proposed course of action is one which your own personal conscience does not clearly condemn, you cannot, he says, be wrong in taking any reasonably defensible course. Nor should you allow yourself to be troubled by indefinite scruples. It may be contended, of course, that doubts may be vague without being unimportant, as for example when a man is haunted by indefinite scruples con-

[1] Tanquerey, *op. cit.* ii. 364.

cerning the lawfulness of the profession by which he earns his bread. In such a case it would obviously be a duty to give the matter a pretty full consideration. And yet, if the doubt still remained, it is likely that most men would feel entitled to take comfort from the reflexion that the course they were adopting was such as did not shock the conscience of good and thoughtful persons—a principle strictly analogous to that of sheltering under an opinion of a moral doctor of established repute. Tutiorism, on the other hand,—which is equivalent to saying 'When in doubt give way to your scruples,'—would often lead to a cowardly desertion of duty.

IV

It is clear, then, that Probabilism is not the frankly immoral doctrine that it has sometimes been thought to be. There is even good ground for thinking it superior to all its rivals. And yet this can hardly be felt to be a full or satisfactory judgement either of Probabilism itself or of the system of which it forms part. 'Never either for yourself or your people'—said the late Bishop Ullathorne to a young priest—'let your moral theology be your guide in Direction.' The priest, commenting on this advice in later life, remarked that 'To regulate one's relations with God by moral theology is as if one regulated one's relations with one's friends by the aid of a lawyer,' and added that he thought Probabilism a doctrine specially liable to abuse.

These stories are a warning not to attempt to estimate the value of the Moral Theology apart from its context in the general life and piety of the Roman Church. They also, perhaps, serve to indicate the direction in which we should look when we come to compare the Moral Theology of Rome with moral systems with which Englishmen in the main are more familiar. Our conclusion will probably be that it is against other parts of the Roman Moral Theology rather than against Probabilism itself that adverse criticism is mainly to be directed. The danger of Probabilism would seem to arise chiefly from its association with doctrines

which weaken the general sense of moral obligation. For example, the question is raised, under the heading '*De peccatis*,' whether a man would sin gravely who only aimed at avoiding mortal sins, and took no heed about venial ones (*an graviter peccaret qui sola mortalia vitare vellet, et de omittendis venialibus minime curaret*), and the answer is given that, speculatively speaking,[1] it is the more probable opinion that there is no grave sin in this attitude (nor even if one proposed to commit *all* the venial sins—*si quis proponat committere omnia venialia*[2]), though there is danger that a facility in venial sinning may weaken the soul and expose it to the risk of sinning gravely later on. Again, a doctrine has been built by some upon the saying of St. Paul that all things are lawful, but all things are not expedient.[3] It is held that certain acts are not sins—not prohibited *sub peccato*—though yet a man who loves God will avoid them.[4] Further there are the well-known discussions as to how often one need love God—once in five years, once a month, etc. etc.[5] These latter discussions as handled by modern authors are not so unreasonable and grotesque as they have been sometimes made to appear. The doctrine that one is obliged to love God above all things '*appretiative*,' but not '*intensive*,'[6] seems to recall a distinction drawn by Kant. And yet surely nothing could be more

[1] The annotator of Gury's *Compendium* points out that St. Alphonso goes further than Gury here. 'S. Alphonsus non de mera in cavendis venialibus negligentia sed *de proposito committendi omnia venialia* quaestionem facit, neque dumtaxat *speculative* probabiliorem eam sententiam dicit, quasi in *praxi* obligatio gravis adsit vitandi ejusmodi *remotum* periculum.

[2] See Gury, *op. cit.* i. 154 and St. Alphonso, *op. cit.* lib. iv. 12.

[3] See Tanquerey, *op. cit.* ii. 420.

[4] The late Cardinal Newman even wrote: 'It is true that you are not obliged to aim at being saints. It is no sin not to aim at perfection.' *Discourses addressed to Mixed Congregations*, 2nd edit. p. 127.

[5] Gury, *op. cit.* i. 218. 'S. Ligorio arridet sententia eorum, qui actum Charitatis semel in mense requirunt.'

[6] *Ibid.* i. 217; *cf. Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten*, p. 399.

un-Kantian and at the same time more un-Pauline, than the notion that a man may blamelessly choose between a lower standard of duty and a standard which he knows to be higher. The Protestant will probably argue that to be willing deliberately to avoid grave sins only and to be ready to commit little sins whenever the temptation may occur, is an act of the most cold-blooded rebellion against God and Duty. He will probably interpret the Pauline passage as meaning merely that some acts which cannot be condemned universally are wrong for a given person here and now; and he will point out that St. Paul, speaking of the call he has received, holds that necessity is laid upon him to follow it.

V

Perhaps then there is no better way of approaching the general question which the consideration of Probabilism involves than by considering the relation between the Moral Theology of Rome and the moral treatises of Kant.

So far as the Roman Catholic Church aims at giving moral guidance to those who have no intention of following after righteousness with their whole heart, the Roman Theology and the Kantian Ethics are in sharp opposition. The ' morality ' of persons of this type would seem to Kant to be destitute of real moral value, and it is a question of primary importance whether we may not bring against the Roman Moral Theology as a whole the charge that it is still pre-Kantian ; that, in fact, it can never be anything else than pre-Kantian ; that it could never, without vital change, admit what Protestantism has at least implicitly recognized, that the supreme issue for every human soul, the issue which dwarfs all other issues, is whether the Will is or is not accepting as an unconditional Imperative the highest law that it knows. Of course, even when we have most fully accepted the Kantian doctrine as to the supreme and unconditional worth of the Good Will, we may still without inconsistency maintain that Kant goes too far when he treats all actions which do not proceed from pure respect for Duty as having necessarily no moral value whatever. Much,

no doubt, turns on what we mean by 'moral value.' But the question is not a mere question of words. The Roman Church appears deliberately to accept the task of giving to those who make, and intend to make, no profession of really strict living, such moral guidance as they will accept. Protestantism, on the other hand, is always so far Kantian that it sets little store by religious influences which merely 'keep men straight' without changing the will or converting the soul. And it is here perhaps that we touch the most profoundly rooted—and the most important in relation to practice—of all the differences which divide these two great systems.

For, intricate though the whole subject is, it cannot be said to have no practical bearing. Is it not indeed plain that as Anglicans we have much to learn from the study of the Roman system, both by way of example and by way of warning?

The faults of the system seem fairly obvious. If the Church of Rome teaches—as it appears to teach [1]—that a man may lawfully decide for himself whether he will aim at perfection or not, then we must declare without hesitation that 'the Church of Rome hath erred.' Nothing, if one thinks of it, could be more definitely un-Christian than to teach that, while we know what would be the highest course for us to take, we may yet blamelessly refuse to take it. Our Saviour demands the 'bearing of the cross' not from some of His disciples only, but from all.[2] He teaches also [3] that the very highest ventures of faith are—for those that are called to make them—to be regarded as bare acts of duty. And is not each man clearly called to that course of action which he sees to be the highest and the best—best not merely for some person in some conceivable conditions, but the best for himself here and now? Of course, if we regard our moral conduct as 'another's good' (*ἀλλότριον ἀγαθὸν*) [4]—

[1] It is clear at least that it does not *forbid* this teaching, which is commonly heard within its communion.

[2] St. Luke xiv. 27.

[3] Compare St. Luke xvii. 10 with St. Luke xvii. 6.

[4] See Plato, *Republic*, 343 C.

profitable to God and our neighbour, but unprofitable to ourselves—we shall naturally be unwilling to do any moral act beyond those which are absolutely indispensable. But such an attitude towards morality is in no sense Christian. If, on the other hand, we recognize that unselfish morality is our own true interest—that just because we share with God a rational nature His interests and ours are absolutely identical—we shall then admit no difference between His wishes and His commands ; nor shall we be able to agree with St. Thomas [1] that the distinction between ' counsels ' and ' precepts ' arises naturally under a law which is a law of liberty. ' This is the course which God prefers and advises, but I am not bound to take it ' is never the language of those who know the freedom of the Spirit. My true *freedom* surely must consist, not in holding that it is a matter for my own *option* [2] whether I accept God's counsels or reject them, but rather in recognizing that I am *bound*. That there is a sense in which we are not all bound to choose the highest functions is true. The contemplative life is in a sense ' higher ' than the life of commerce, just as philosophy is a ' higher ' occupation than the making of shoes. Moreover, when we come to distinguish in set terms between that which is highest ' in the abstract ' and that which is the highest course ' for a given person here and now,' we may find ourselves confronted with puzzles which are not all of them merely sophistical. Yet, even if the failure to draw this distinction clearly is from an intellectual point of view pardonable, the moral consequences of the confusion are none the less grave.

VI

But must we not, while admitting the defects of the Roman system, at the same time recognize its merits ? Are

[1] *Summa Theol.* Prima secundae partis. Qu. cviii., art. 4, conclusio. *Convenienter in nova lege, quae est lex libertatis, supra praecepta sunt addita consilia.*

[2] *Summa Theol.* Prima secundae. Qu. cviii. art. 4, conclusio. Praeceptum *importat necessitatem,* consilium *autem in optione ponitur ejus cui datur.*

there not some points in which it is eminently worthy of our imitation? The answer to these questions cannot long remain doubtful to anyone who will look facts in the face. We have in the Church of England many professed directors of conscience. The direction they give is all of it well intentioned, and some of it—as candid observers, to whatever theological school they may belong, must allow—kindly and reasonable in its methods, and often successful in its results. Yet the failures are no less conspicuous than the successes. There are probably few Evangelical clergymen who could not tell of delicate cases pitifully mismanaged by their brethren of another school of thought. Indeed High Churchmen themselves are generally quite ready to admit that to seek 'direction' in the Anglican Communion is always something of an experiment.

It would be quite out of place to express here any general opinion as to whether the revival of the 'Confessional' in the Church of England has tended to the promotion of spiritual religion or not. It is enough that we should recognize that every clergyman, High, Low or Broad, is called to give at times what may fairly be called 'direction' in a wide sense of that term. It is manifestly desirable that those who seek to guide the consciences of others—whether by means of the 'Confessional' or otherwise—should possess some qualifications for the discharge of this most responsible office. The Anglican 'director,' however, is commonly an entirely untrained man. He has no systematic knowledge either of moral theology or of moral philosophy. If anyone doubts whether this charge can be substantiated, let him call on those of his clerical friends who are in the habit of hearing confessions, and let him attempt to engage them in a discussion on the relations of the Roman Moral Theology to any other systematic moral theory he may choose to name. They will decline the discussion with perfect good humour, and give their reason for declining it with admirable candour. And have we not here the explanation of the failures we deplore? The persons who most seek 'direction' are the persons of scrupulous conscience: the tendency of the high-minded amateur in moral theology is always and

everywhere towards Rigorism: and Rigorism is the very worst of all possible systems for the scrupulous. Persistently to take the 'safe side,' persistently to do more than one is sure that one is really bound to do, persistently to give way to scruples which increase as they are indulged—what surer road could be found towards physical 'breakdown'? And the same method which leads to physical overstrain in some, leads to moral reaction in others. The lapse into violent ill-temper of the man who feels that he has long been more forbearing than he was really bound to be is a phenomenon familiar to every student of human nature. And it is far from being the most serious phenomenon of its class.

Now Probabilism has at least one merit. It leads us to reflect upon, and to mitigate, this eminently dangerous doctrine of the 'safe side.' Probabilism is in truth a destructive criticism of the very principle upon which it is supposed to rest: for to say that the 'safe side' is not always to be followed is to say in effect that it is not always 'safe.' It is sometimes objected that the Roman discussions of the six systems described above are too elaborate to be of practical use. But is it certain that the method of distinguishing our own system from others, which differ from it while they also resemble it, is not in a case of this kind the very readiest means of grasping our own system clearly? At least it will be found true that there are some minds who by means of these discussions can be made to perceive the fallacy on which the doctrine of the safe side rests, although no other method of argument has ever been able to convince them of it; and there are others who, though they may never clearly detect where this particular fallacy lies, have been put on their guard against its practical consequences by the mere statement of the Probabilist position.

The usual popular objection to systematic moral theology is an objection which would be equally valid against scientific ethics in general. The relation between scientific ethics and those personal moral intuitions on which all our knowledge of right and wrong must ultimately rest, gives

rise no doubt to many difficult questions. But when we are told that the honest man needs no guidance but that of his conscience, the answer is easy. If this were the case there would be no such thing as a scrupulous conscience in the world. And it needs but little reflexion to perceive how, amid the complexities of a high civilization, there arise at every turn moral problems which equally honest men will solve in different ways. Again, have we not all met with cases—which would be 'ludicrous,' as one says, 'if they were not pathetic'—where the penitent, overcharged with private scruples already, has received, instead of relief, an additional load of scruples from the confessor's own stock? It is against this particular evil that modern Probabilism is more especially directed; and it is really not easy to see how such problems can be dealt with, and such errors avoided, except by some such system of principles as that of which the Roman Moral Theology is the most consistent and the most complete example.

To recommend an uncritical use of the Roman books would be of course unwise. It would not be particularly surprising if one of these days a group of brilliant but irresponsible young clergymen or journalists should take to a commendation of these books in their least satisfactory aspects as just one more device for arousing the alarm of the British Philistine. Such a proceeding would do harm and not good. But for sensible and responsible Anglicans it will be the stronger and not the weaker side of the Roman method which alone will be attractive. Not perhaps in Kantian language, nor with Kantian impressiveness, but in essential agreement with that teaching in which (as we have seen) Kant expresses the better mind, not only of Protestantism but of Christendom at large, they will affirm the principles which of all others are the most certain to render the errors of the Roman System innocuous. And so long as these principles are kept clearly in view, it can hardly have any effect except for good if we study with care and respect the works of those systematic moral writers whom the Roman Church has so plentifully produced.

CHARLES J. SHEBBEARE.

Art. V.—SYMBOLICS AND IRENICS.

1. *Lehrbuch der vergleichenden Confessionskunde.* Von Ferdinand Kattenbusch. (Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. 1891.)
2. *Symbolik, vergleichende Darstellung der christlichen Hauptkirchen nach ihrem Grundzuge und ihren wesentlichen Lebensäusserungen.* Von E. F. K. Müller. (Leipzig: A. Deichert Nachf. 1896.)
3. *Symbolik, oder christliche Konfessionskunde.* Von F. Loofs. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. 1902.)
4. *A History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith in Christendom and Beyond.* With Historical Tables. By W. A. Curtis, M.A., B.D. (Edin.), Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Aberdeen. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1911.)

And many other works.

I

'Symbolics,' as a theological discipline, is quite modern; but that which it stands for is as ancient as Christianity itself; for so soon as Christianity became conscious of itself, and was recognized as a religion distinct from Judaism, out of which it sprang, it was necessary for it to define the essential and distinctive principles of the Christian Faith.

The term *Symbolics* is an anglicized form of the German *Symbolik*, for which English scholars had previously used *Symbolism*. But *Symbolism* in common usage means the investing of things with a symbolic meaning, or the investigation of the intellectual, moral, and religious meaning of external things. It was therefore important to have a word which would not be ambiguous, but which specifically meant the study of the Symbols of the Christian Faith; and so the German word was anglicized for this purpose.

The term *Symbol* was used for the Apostles' Creed by Cyprian, Augustine, Rufinus and others in the Third and

Fourth Christian centuries. The exact meaning of the term is questioned: whether it refers to the composition of the Creed, the putting together in a summary form of the Christian Faith, or to its being a sign, emblem, badge, or banner, about which Christians as soldiers of the Faith should rally. The latter is probably the original meaning; but in fact the Christian Creed has historically embraced both meanings. The term was gradually extended from the Apostles' Creed to the other ancient creeds. A study of these creeds may be termed 'Fundamental Symbolics.'

The theologians of the Middle Ages combined the study of the Creeds and the Fathers with that of the Scriptures under the head of 'Positive Theology,' and so distinguished the theology based on the authority of Christ and His Church from the Scholastic Theology as systematized by the Scholastic theologians in the use of the Aristotelian philosophy. That distinction prevailed until the Seventeenth century, and it even survived that century in some Protestant writers, and has continued among Roman Catholics until the present day. Indeed one of the most characteristic marks of a Liberal Roman Catholic is his cultivation of Positive Theology over against the Scholastic Theology.

At the Reformation the Protestant Reformers discarded the Scholastic Theology, and reverted to the Positive Theology, in which they recognized the Scriptures as the only divine authority, but the Creeds of the ancient Church as valid summaries of the doctrines of Scripture; and in their systems of doctrine they endeavoured to give the system of doctrine taught in Holy Scripture. So Calvin sought his material in the Bible; but his structural principle was not the Aristotelian philosophy, but the order of the Apostles' Creed, which he follows strictly, only making a fourfold division instead of the traditional twelvefold.

The successors of the Reformers in the Seventeenth century reintroduced the Aristotelian philosophy as the constructive principle in their systems of Theology; and thus gave a Protestant Scholastic Theology in which they merged the older Positive Theology. And so the distinction between Positive and Scholastic Theology passed out of view

among Protestants. The great Anglican theologians of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries adhered to the Positive Theology of the Creeds, though they made little use of the name. It was chiefly the Puritan theologians, or those that tended in that direction, who used the Scholastic methods.

The breaking-up of the Church at the Reformation resulted in the organization of a great number of national Churches over against the Roman Catholic Church, which insisted upon being international or supernational. These national Churches issued official declarations of their Faith, no longer in the form of Creeds, but as *Confessions of Faith, Articles of Religion, Catechisms,* and other the like documents. The Roman Catholic Church issued the *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent.* These were all symbolical decisions of particular Churches and became the standards or banners of these Churches in the ecclesiastical warfare that characterized the Sixteenth century.

It was maintained by all the Churches, that their Symbols expressed the doctrines of Scripture, and that the opposing statements of the other Churches were unscriptural and erroneous. The Roman Catholics alone recognized divine authority in the apostolic tradition expressed in the teaching of the Fathers and the Creeds, and the conciliar doctrinal decrees of the Church.

Alongside the systems of doctrine or newer Scholasticism of the Seventeenth century, a study of the Symbols of the particular Church arose, especially among the German Lutherans. At first there was a collecting of the several Symbols of the Lutheran Churches, beginning with the *Augsburg Confession* (1530) and concluding with the *Concordia* (1577–1580); then a general account of them was given in *Introductions*; and finally the Theology of these Symbols was given, at first by Rechenberg (1677) and Sander (1688). Thus the discipline of 'Particular Symbolics' originated.

In the Reformed Churches this discipline did not make much progress till later times. Salnar, in 1581, gathered the ten chief Symbols of the Reformed Churches in his *Harmonia Confessionum Fidei* (translated into English in 1586 at

Cambridge). The purpose of this collection is clear from the title: to shew the essential unity of the Reformed Churches over against the Roman Catholic and Lutheran.

But the unity of the Reformed Churches was broken on the Continent by the conflict with Arminianism, decided by the general Synod of the Reformed Churches at Dort, in 1618–19, not only against Arminianism, but also for a Scholastic type of theology to which many of the Reformed Churches would not conform. Still later, in 1675, the *Helvetic Consensus* ruled out of orthodoxy all liberal tendencies in Calvinism.

The unity of the Churches of Great Britain was broken by the efforts of the Puritan party to bring these Churches into closer conformity with the Reformed Churches of the Continent, with the disparagement of the special features of the Anglican type of Reformation.

The Westminster Assembly endeavoured to unite the four nations, English, Welsh, Irish, and Scotch, about one Confession of Faith, one form of worship, and one government and discipline; but in vain, because the Puritans refused toleration to any other doctrines or institutions but their own. The inevitable result, therefore, was the splitting up of the Church in these nations into a number of different denominations, which continue till the present day, each one of them having its own Symbols of Faith.

The study of the *Articles of Religion* has been cultivated by Anglicans, and of the *Westminster Confession* by Presbyterians, and of the various other Symbols of other denominations by their representative divines; but little attention has been given to the study of these Symbols in the Reformed and Anglican Churches compared with the activity on this subject among the Lutherans.

The statement of the variant Faiths of the different Churches gave rise to *Polemics*; and 'Polemical Theology' became a very important theological discipline in the Seventeenth century. There is still a weakness in that direction among old-fashioned theologians at the present day. Among the Reformed Theologians the term *theologia elenchtica* was preferred to that of *polemica*; but the latter

term ultimately prevailed. Both of these words have become anglicized as *polemical* and *elenctical*; but the latter is seldom used in our days. However, Francis Turretine's *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae* was used as a text-book by Scotch and American Presbyterians as late as the middle of the last century.

This Polemical Theology, which began with a maintenance of Symbolical doctrines, soon became the special charge of the Scholastic divines; and thus it was detached from Symbolical Theology and attached to Scholastic Theology.

Over against and in antithesis with Polemics, the discipline of *Irenics* arose, and became prominent through the efforts of Calixtus, Grotius, John Dury, Spinola, and Leibnitz. These men and their associates were called *Syncretists*, because they sought to harmonize and combine the doctrines of the different Churches in one. Their opponents thought the differences irreconcilable, and so accused them of indifference to the distinctive doctrines of these Churches. But syncretism is simply the combination of elements, or principles, in unity. All great religions are syncretistic. And no union is possible without syncretism, or combinations of some kind. Such syncretisms may be, and often are, heterogeneous combinations, as in ancient gnostic sects, and their recent imitators. Other syncretisms underrate and are indifferent to important differences. But neither of these faults is inherent or necessarily involved in irenic syncretisms.

The polemical divines easily outnumbered the syncretists, and the war-cries outsounded the pleas of the peacemakers. Nevertheless 'Irenic Theology' has its history no less than 'Polemic Theology'; and in our day it is just the Polemic Theology which has passed into the background.

The consideration of Polemic on the one hand, and of Irenic on the other, led to an intermediate pragmatic study of the Symbols of the various Churches.

This was begun by G. J. Planck, in 1796, in his *Abriss einer historischen und vergleichenden Darstellung der dogmatischen Systeme unserer verschiedenen christlichen Hauptpartheyen nach ihren Grundbegriffen, ihren daraus*

abgeleiteten Unterscheidungslehren und ihren praktischen Folgen. This work was the origination of the department of 'Comparative Symbolics,' which has been cultivated by numerous scholars since.

These then are the three great divisions of Symbolics:

(1) *Fundamental* Symbolics, the study of the Oecumenical Creeds and Conciliar decrees.

(2) *Particular* Symbolics, the study of the Symbols of the particular Churches.

(3) *Comparative* Symbolics, the study of the Symbols in order to determine their 'consensus' and 'dissensus'; and this in three different interests—the *Polemic*, the *Irenic*, and the *Pragmatic*.

We shall now consider each one of these departments more particularly.

II

The three Creeds—the *Apostles'*, the *Nicene*, and the *Athanasian*—were recognized as ancient summary statements of doctrines contained in Holy Scripture, not only by the Roman Catholic Church, but also by the three great Churches of the Reformation—the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Church of England. The Greek and Oriental Churches limit themselves to the Nicene Creed, not because they have any objection whatever to the others, but because these have never had much circulation in the East; and their definitions are entirely covered by the Nicene and Chalcedonian formulas. These three Creeds are therefore regarded as oecumenical and fundamental statements of the Christian Faith, ranking next to Holy Scripture in authority.

The primitive Creeds were all local and baptismal creeds composed for the training of converts in preparation for the sacraments, and they were all built on the Apostolic Commission and the Trinitarian Formula. The Churches established in the chief centres gradually made each its own Creed. These, however, were in essential agreement, for the reasons assigned. Whatever differences there might be in

language and in detail were gradually assimilated, in the Churches of the West at least, to the old Roman Creed, which was named the *Apostles' Creed*, not because it was composed by the Apostles—that was a later legend—but because, like other similar documents—such as the *Didache*, the *Didascalia*, and the *Constitution of the Apostles*—it was supposed to give a summary of the Faith handed down by tradition from the Apostles. This Apostles' Creed, in the earliest form known to us, came from the middle of the Second century. There is then a revised form, of the middle of the Fourth century. There is finally the slightly modified form used in all the Western Churches. This Apostles' Creed is the earliest Christian Symbol, the baptismal Symbol of the Western Church in all its branches, the basis of all the older Catechisms and of most of the newer ones.

The 'Nicene Creed' is a conciliar creed, originally adopted by the Council of Nicaea (325), on the basis of the baptismal Creed of the Church of Caesarea, considered again by the Council of Constantinople (381) and readopted. To this Nicene Creed was attached the older baptismal Creed of the Church of Jerusalem, resembling the Apostles' Creed, and the combination was adopted finally by the Council of Chalcedon (451). This, with a few minor changes, has been the fundamental doctrinal Creed of the Church, Eastern and Western, giving the decisions of the Church in the great doctrinal controversies as to the Person of Christ and the Holy Trinity. This Nicene Creed became especially attached to the sacrament of the Eucharist.

The 'Athanasian Creed' is a later Western dogmatic Symbol, originating in Gaul probably in the early Fifth century, and gradually becoming a recognized authority in the West. It is orthodox in doctrine and dogmatic in structure, though metrical in form. This Creed was never used in the East; although, apart from the *filioque*, it is entirely in accord with Eastern orthodoxy. It was recognized by all the Reformers. Its damnatory clauses have made it objectionable to many modern Christians, and it is no longer used in America, except in Roman Catholic

Churches. These clauses are easily separable from the Creed, are of doubtful originality, and should never have been used in worship.

To these Creeds we must add the doctrinal decisions of the Oecumenical Council of Chalcedon and of its successors, which limit themselves for the most part to an interpretation of the Chalcedonian formula over against the Monophysites and the Monothelites.

The Greek, Latin, and Protestant Churches all adhere to these Symbols ; and though there are still existing Churches which separated from the Greek Church for political and ecclesiastical reasons as much as for Monophysitism, yet in fact these Monophysites have become so modified in their Faith that, as the Council of Florence indicated, doctrinal differences no longer stand in the way of their union with the Latin and Greek Churches.

Accordingly we may regard these Symbols as the fundamental Symbols of the Universal Church, and the study of them as ' Fundamental Symbolics.'

III

As we have already seen, ' Particular Symbolics ' became necessary when the Christian Church was divided, and different Symbols were adopted by the divided Churches. The great calamity of the division of Greek and Latin Christianity was on ecclesiastical rather than on doctrinal lines. The doctrinal differences, so far as they really existed, were settled at the Council of Florence in 1439 ; and it is only in the interest of the continuation of the separation that any great importance can be attached to them.

1. The Greek Church adheres strictly to the one Symbol, the Constantinopolitan form of the *Nicene Creed*, and the Chalcedonian formula. It felt no need of any other Symbol until it was brought into conflict with the Churches of the Reformation. This conflict resulted in the composition of the following Symbols :

(i) The *Confessio Orthodoxa* (of Petrus Mogilas) of the

Russian Church, was agreed to by the four Patriarchs in 1643, and introduced into the Russian discipline by Peter the Great in 1723.

(ii) The *Confessio Dosithei* of 1672 was adopted by the Synods of Constantinople and Jerusalem.

(iii) The *Russian Catechism* of Philaret, composed in 1840, is of widespread use, but can hardly be considered as of symbolical authority. Indeed the Greek Church does not recognize any of the Symbols named as on a par with its one Symbol.

2. The Roman Catholic Church has continued to issue symbolical statements from the time of the separation from the Greeks until the present. There have been twelve 'oecumenical' Councils since the separation of East and West, the last that of the Vatican, 1869–1870, all of which in their doctrinal decisions have like symbolical authority. In addition to these, provincial councils, whose definitions have been approved by the Popes, have also symbolical authority: such are the Synod of Orange, in 529, which decided the doctrines in controversy between Augustinianism and Pelagianism and Semi-Pelagianism; and the Synod of Rome in 1079, which compelled Berengarius to sign a confession of faith in the doctrine of the conversion of the elements in the Eucharist. Moreover certain decisions of Popes as to Faith and Morals have symbolical character, as the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus* of Pius IX, in 1854, which defined the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin.

The best collection of Roman Catholic Symbols is that of Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum et definitionum*.[1] Denzinger, however, combines merely authoritative deliverances of Popes and Councils with those having real symbolical authority, and does not draw the line between them. It is indeed a moot question in the Roman Catholic Church where exactly the line of infallibility is to be drawn. This situation justifies to some degree the criticism of many Protestant scholars, that one cannot be sure whether certain decisions have symbolical character or not. At the same

[1] Ninth edition, 1900.

time the Roman Church does distinguish between infallible doctrine and doctrine which is authoritative without being infallible; and many Protestant scholars are in error in classifying the *Syllabus* of Pope Pius IX and other kindred documents as symbolical. I assert this on the authority of the best Roman theologians and canonists, and of Pope Pius X himself.

3. The Lutheran Church. The chief Symbols of the Lutheran Church are the 'Augsburg Confession' of 1530, the 'Articles of Smalcald' of 1537, the two *Catechisms* of Luther of 1529, and the *Concordia* of 1577–1580. All of these and other minor related catechisms and confessions have been considered by German scholars from every point of view.

4. The Reformed Churches produced a large number of symbolical books in the different countries in which they spread. The fundamental Symbols were the 'Tetrapolitan Confession' of Bucer and Capito, presented to the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, and several local Symbols prepared by Zwingli and Calvin. The chief Reformed Confessions, however, are the 'First Helvetic' (1536), and the 'Second Helvetic' (1562), the 'Gallican' (1559), the 'Belgian' (1561), the 'Scottish' (1560), the 'Czengerine' (1557–70), and the 'Declaration of Thorn' (1645). The German Reformed have as their chief Symbol the 'Heidelberg Catechism' of 1563; but many other smaller independent jurisdictions issued their particular Symbols.

5. The Church of England expressed her Faith in the 'Forty-two Articles of Religion' of 1553, and the 'Thirty-nine' of 1563.

There was a second symbolic period for the Reformed Churches. Many of them united at the Synod of Dort against Arminianism in 1618–19, and issued their condemnation of the Arminians, and statement of the distinctive principles of scholastic Calvinism.

So in the Church of England the 'Lambeth Articles' were drawn up in 1595, and the 'Irish Articles' were adopted by the convocation of the Irish Episcopal Church in 1615. These were in the interest of High Calvinism. They divided

rather than harmonized theological opinion, and did not attain any more than temporary symbolical authority. They were, however, favoured by the Puritan party, and lay at the basis of the 'Westminster Confession.'

In Great Britain and America a large number of denominations have arisen from time to time, each of which has its own standards or principles.

The Congregationalists, or Independents, and the Baptists agreed to the 'Westminster Confession' in its doctrinal parts, and only disagreed as to some Christian institutions. Usually the local churches of the Congregationalists and Baptists have their own confessions or creeds to which their members subscribe at their reception into full communion. However, the New England Churches issued the 'Cambridge Platform' in 1648, prepared by a Synod at Cambridge, Massachusetts; and in 1658 the Congregational Churches of England issued a 'Declaration of Faith and Order.'

The English Baptists united upon a similar Confession in 1677, finally adopted in 1689, and agreed to by the American Baptists at Philadelphia in 1742.

The Methodists have a revision and condensation of the 'Articles of Religion' as their Symbol, adopted at Baltimore in 1784.

And so other denominations have their Symbols of various kinds, usually modifications of those already mentioned.

A very extensive literature has been devoted to a study of these various Symbols in the different religious denominations.

IV

'Comparative Symbolics' presupposes the preliminary study of 'Fundamental Symbolics' and 'Particular Symbolics.' It leaves out of view all the introductory historical questions which belong to these preliminary parts of our discipline, in order to devote itself to the subject matter of doctrines of Faith and Morals contained in these Symbols;

and studies these doctrines not so much in the structure and form of the Symbols in which they are stated, but in their relations to each other, in the variant statements of the same doctrines, and in their emphasis upon different doctrines: for the purpose of this study is to ascertain how far there is agreement and concord, and how far there is disagreement and discord. We have already seen that the Symbols divide themselves historically into two sections—the Oecumenical Symbols and the Symbols of particular Churches; and that the Symbols of these particular Churches may be arranged in groups very much as these have arisen in history.

On the Continent of Europe there have been, from the time of the Reformation, smaller bodies of Christians of various kinds who have dissented from the State Churches for the most part with regard to institutions rather than doctrines; or have been so heretical as to have no legitimate right to the Christian name. Even when these heretical sects have standards they have no rightful place in Christian Symbolics. They are outside organic Christianity just as truly as the ancient Gnostics, Montanists, and Donatists; and it is an invalid and unhistorical use of Symbolics to include their doctrines in this discipline.

The conflicts of the civil wars and revolution in England, 1638–1690, brought about the establishment of the Churches of England, Ireland, and Wales as episcopal, with the *Articles of Religion* as their Symbol; and of the State Church of Scotland as Presbyterian, with the *Westminster Confession* as its Symbol. But from these State Churches several bodies separated themselves, such as the Congregationalists, and Baptists, which, on all but institutional questions, adhered to the *Westminster Confession*, and co-operated with the Presbyterians of England against the State Church. Besides these were the Friends, or Quakers, who differed doctrinally chiefly as regards the 'Inner Light,' but whose main points of difference were also institutional. In later times the Methodists separated from the Church of England, not, however, on doctrinal grounds, but for institutional reasons. Besides these there have arisen in Great Britain and

America many smaller bodies. But from a doctrinal point of view these dissenting bodies differ from the Reformed group only in minor matters, and therefore do not require any separate treatment in Comparative Symbolics from the Reformed or Anglican groups.

So long as the Symbols of Faith were considered by themselves, it was quite easy to separate their study from that of Christian Institutions ; and the same situation continued, though with some difficulty, when we had to consider the particular Symbols of the Christian Churches on the Continent of Europe, where the discipline of *Symbolics* arose, and where alone it was studied until quite recent times. But so soon as ' Comparative Symbolics ' came into the field for serious and comprehensive study, the situation gradually changed. So long as the comparison was chiefly between the Lutheran and Reformed Symbols of the Continent, no need was felt to go beyond the field of doctrine, because institutional differences were slight, and of little comparative importance. Even in the comparison of Roman with Protestant Symbols it was not difficult to confine the study to doctrines of Faith and Morals, and to refer institutional differences to the disciplines of ' Liturgics ' and Church Law. But when it came to a serious study of the differences between the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches, it became evident that the doctrinal differences were really merged in the more important institutional differences ; and so the three chief writers on Symbols of recent times—Kattenbusch,[1] Müller,[2] and Loofs [3]—insist upon the inclusion of institutions with doctrine in the discipline of Symbolics.

The probable reason why ' Symbolics ' has excited so little interest in Great Britain and America is that the chief differences between the religious denominations are not doctrinal but institutional. The names of the Churches of America, apart from those that originated on the Continent

[1] *Lehrbuch der vergleichenden Confessionskunde* (*Freiburg.* 1891).

[2] *Symbolik, vergleichende Darstellung der christlichen Hauptkirchen nach ihrem Grundzuge und ihren wesentlichen Lebensäusserungen* (*Leipzig.* 1896).

[3] *Symbolik, oder christliche Konfessionskunde* (*Tübingen.* 1902).

of Europe and so transplanted continental terms, bear institutional names: Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, Methodist, and the like. The same is true in common usage in Great Britain likewise. If therefore anyone wishes to make a comparative study of the *consensus* and *dissensus* of British and American Christianity, he must pay more attention to religious institutions than to doctrines of Faith and Morals.

Religious institutions, no less than doctrines, depend for the most part upon official documents of the Churches. Indeed it has been quite common to include the Symbols under Religious Institutions, as by Stanley and A. V. G. Allen, making the latter the more comprehensive term. From the point of view of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, there is some justification for this. Religious institutions belong to the religious life of the Church; Creeds and Confessions of Faith to the doctrinal or more intellectual side of Christianity; and Christian Ethics to the moral side. The three departments may be distinguished, or combined, according to circumstances. From the point of view of theological encyclopaedia, they are sometimes combined and sometimes distributed in different parts of the system. If the comparative study of the *consensus* and *dissensus* of the Churches is the chief motive, they certainly belong together.

It will not do to classify all under Christian Institutions, because the discipline of 'Symbolics' originated in Germany, and has been cultivated chiefly there. It has won its right by long study and an extensive literature; whereas the comparative study of Christian institutions is quite recent. Moreover the Creeds and Confessions are institutional only in part, so far as they are used in the institutions of worship, government, and discipline of the Church; whereas their chief importance is in the intellectual sphere, as doctrines of Faith.

The question naturally arises whether we shall follow the recent German writers on 'Symbolics,' and class Institutions under that head. The term *Symbol* has for so many centuries been associated with Creeds and official

statements of the Faith of the Church, that one hesitates to extend it so as to cover religious institutions: and yet on the other hand there is no reason, so far as the term *Symbol* itself is concerned, why it should not be thus extended; for the credal statement is no more a symbol, or badge of a religious body, than its forms of worship, or its system of government. Moreover, the Symbols of the Churches since the Reformation do in fact include institutions as well as doctrines. It is necessary, if we wish to know what any particular Church stands for and what is the 'consensus' of Christianity, to study the Liturgies and Canons of the Church as well as the Creeds and Confessions. It is, however, sometimes convenient to treat of the Creeds in one course of instruction and of the Institutions in another. It would be much better, if scholars could agree upon some more comprehensive term, such as 'Comparative Theology,' to include both these departments of study.

Christian Institutions have two great divisions: (1) *Institutions of Worship*, and (2) *Institutions of Government and Discipline.* Institutions of Worship have as their authority Liturgies and other formulas of worship, usually studied under the head of 'Liturgics.' Institutions of Government and Discipline have as their authority Canons of Councils, treated usually under the head of Church Government and Canon Law. The usual classification of Liturgies and Canon Law under the head of 'Practical Theology' emphasizes the practical side of these great studies to the neglect of the historical and systematic sides.

The same distinction between *fundamental, particular*, and *comparative* must be made here as in the case of Symbols of Faith. There are the fundamental Liturgies of the Christian Church; and there are the fundamental Canons of Councils, upon which all Christian Institution depends.

When the Greek and Roman Churches separated, the differences in institution developed more rapidly than those of doctrine, in the liturgies, ceremonies, and canon law of the separated Churches. The Protestant Reformation itself

was due more to institutional differences than to doctrinal ones; although after the division more stress was laid upon the doctrinal in the controversies on the Continent of Europe, but not in Great Britain. The Roman Catholic Church revised its Liturgy, and constrained all parts of the Church to the Roman Breviary and the Roman Missal and ceremonial. The Canon Law was also revised, and made of universal obligation. Each of the Protestant Churches developed its own peculiar institutions. There is a group of Lutheran Liturgies, another of Reformed Calvinistic Liturgies. Here the Church of England makes a third group with its *Book of Common Prayer*.

So also in canons of government and discipline we have the Lutheran consistorial government, the Calvinistic presbyterian, and the Anglican episcopal governments, all with canons, laws and rules of various kinds regulating them.

The English Revolution left the Church of England in the midst of a group of dissenting Churches, differing from her as to worship and government in almost every variety of conception, from the full liturgy of the Church of England, through the partial liturgy of the Church of Scotland, to the entire absence of liturgy among several non-conforming bodies. We have Baptists who separate on the questions of the subjects of baptism and the mode of baptism. We have Quakers, or Friends, who celebrate the sacraments in spirit but not in the letter. We have every variety of church government and church law developed in different organizations, some of which contend for their peculiarities as if they were the very essence of divine Scriptural authority. Each one of these denominations, each group of them, has its own particular institutions of worship and of government, regulated by official documents of these bodies, each requiring special study by the adherents of the particular body.

We have finally the comparative study of Institutions. This study distinguishes first the primitive Christian Institutions of the undivided Church from the particular Institutions of the separate Churches. It then groups these

separate Churches, and classifies their liturgical books and canons of law. It then finally seeks the *consensus* and *dissensus* of Christendom in this regard.

Thus far 'Comparative Symbolics' is pragmatic: its only interest is truth and fact. But usually other interests prevail in this comparative study, and the earliest of these was the Polemic.

'Polemics,' rightly studied, should build upon the 'dissensus' of the Symbols, and endeavour to maintain the right of the particular Symbols of the religious denomination to which the writer belongs against the supposed errors of other particular Symbols.

As we have already seen, 'Polemics' arose before 'Comparative Symbolics,' and indeed so soon as the particular Symbols of the separated Churches were made; but in the main it was unfruitful of good and only productive of evil, because it was not based upon valid distinctions, it was not carried on in the proper spirit, and the methods were those of a special pleader who magnifies the differences, misrepresents the opponent, seeking for victory over the antagonist rather than a vindication of the truth. It was only natural, therefore, that this method should abandon the ground of Symbols, and attach itself to the Scholastic Theology.

Thus 'Polemics' became discredited, and in modern Theology has been wellnigh abandoned. There is, however, room for it, if it be carried on upon the basis of the Symbols themselves, and especially after a thorough comparative study of them, which has in a scholarly and unbiased way already made the discrimination between the concord and the discord of Christendom, has already weighed each statement in the scales of accurate measurement in the due proportions of the theological system. On this sound basis, with a conviction of the truth and accuracy of the particular Symbol, it is quite proper that it should be maintained in a dignified and scholarly way against opposing statements, and these statements may be critically examined and their errors exposed.

It is not probable, however, that 'Polemics' will be much

cultivated in this generation; for there is a remarkable lack of enthusiasm for the differences between the religious bodies among scholars really competent to distinguish them properly and to maintain them.

V

Christian 'Irenics' is the last and highest attainment of Christian Symbolics. It studies the concord of Christendom, and on that basis shews the true unity of the Church of Christ: and it studies the discord in order if possible to dissolve the differences and reconcile them in a higher unity, and in all to promote peace and harmony between all religious bodies.

'Christian Irenics,' as we have seen, arose in opposition to 'Polemics,' and was cultivated by a body of men who were called Syncretists. They were regarded by their opponents as attempting to bring together irreconcilable principles, and as unfaithful to the particular Symbols of the Church to which they belonged. Here again, although they had the true Christian spirit of peacemaking, and the right purpose of reuniting the divided Churches, their movement was premature, because it was not built upon proper discriminations such as must first be made in the department of 'Comparative Symbolics.' In the early days of irenic effort, chiefly by men on the border lines, where different denominations co-existed, many helpful discriminations were made which were of permanent use.

Irenic movements began in the period of the Reformation itself. Martin Bucer and Philip Melanchthon were the chief peacemakers on the Protestant side in the early stages of the Reformation, and many differences were resolved, especially at Augsburg and Ratisbon; but political and ecclesiastical interests were in the way of any valid reconciliation.

Later Ferdinand of Austria encouraged George Wicel, a pupil of Erasmus, who in 1533, in his *Methodus concordiae ecclesiasticae*, urged reforms in doctrinal statements and

ecclesiastical usages; and in his *Via regia* proposed the laying aside of scholastic dogmatism, and a return to the simplicity of doctrine and usage of the early Church. The Roman Catholic George Cassander, in 1561 in his *De officio*, exposes in a mild and gentle way the inconsistencies of the Protestant Reformers. He considers the differences in an irenic spirit, and makes useful proposals for reconciliation, especially in the doctrine of the Eucharist. The most important of these are the following:

(1) The authority of Scripture and of apostolic tradition, as witnessed by the primitive Councils and Fathers; (2) the jurisdiction of the Pope, restricted to the limits set by Jesus Christ and the early Church; (3) the doctrinal differences as adjusted by the conference at Ratisbon; (4) the Mass a remembrance and representation of the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ continued in heaven.

These positions were adopted in all essentials by John Forbes in 1620 in his *Considerationes modestae*; and by Grotius in 1641, in his republication of Cassander with annotations.

Other efforts were made in the Seventeenth century. The most useful of these was probably that of Rupertus Meldenius, whose personality and residence have not been discovered, notwithstanding the researches of many scholars. His *Paraenesis Votiva*—issued about 1627—is of extreme rarity. The copy I examined is in the Royal Library of Berlin. It gained recognition through the volume of Conrad Berg, *Praxis Catholica*, which also I consulted in the same library, and which contains the only copy preserved, so far as I know, except one, which I was able to secure a short time ago, after hunting for it for many years. The golden sentence of peace given by Rupertus is:

In necessariis unitas, in non necessariis libertas, in utrisque charitas.

This sentence was taken from Conrad Berg by Richard Baxter, and so became current in the Anglo-Saxon world.

John Dury, the great peacemaker of the middle of the century, tried to rally the Christians of his time on what he called *Practical Theology*—that is, such doctrines of

Faith and Morals as were not scholastic, but of practical importance.

A Professor of Aberdeen, toward the close of the century, issued an anonymous tract called *Comparative Theology*, in which he tried to get a basis for union in the theological principles he determined in this way. His work had little influence in Great Britain, but it was reproduced in Holland, and was helpful there. These irenic movements were still in the particularistic stage. They dealt with certain prominent questions, but were not sufficiently comprehensive. The questions neglected were raised up as obstacles by their opponents. The pragmatic study of the concord and discord of Christendom, and of the relative weight and just proportion of the differences in the Positive Theology of the Church, was necessary to successful irenic movement. Not until 'Comparative Symbolics' had been thoroughly studied could there be a sound Christian Irenic.

At the close of the Seventeenth century there was a tremendous struggle for reunion all over the world. Theological literature from 1680–1700 is for the most part either polemic or irenic in that interest. The most important irenic movement is that headed on the Continent by the Roman Catholic Spinola, General of the Franciscans, and the great philosopher Leibnitz, sustained at one time by a Pope, the Curia at Rome, and a General of the Jesuits, but strangely enough opposed by Bossuet and the Gallican party, largely from political interests.

Many useful proposals were made and entertained at Rome, such as (1) the use of the older term *conversion* rather than the scholastic *transubstantiation*; (2) that faith justifies not absolutely, but as the root of all justification; (3) the limitation of papal authority by a constitution, with freedom for the different provinces of the Church in local affairs.

Though this irenic movement failed, the polemic also failed; but they were both instructive, and no one can fully understand the real state of the controversy between Protestants and Rome unless he has thoroughly studied both of these movements.

Some of the older writers distinguish between 'Irenics' and 'Henotics.' 'Irenics' is a plural of *irenic*, an adjective from the Greek εἰρηνικός, *peaceful, pacific.* 'Henotics' is a plural of *henotic*, from the Greek ἑνωτικός, *serving to unite, unifying.*

If we were strictly to adhere to the meaning of these terms, 'Irenics' would be the discipline that seeks to promote peace and harmony among the religious bodies; and we should have to use 'Henotics' for the efforts to promote union. In England and America 'Irenics,' strictly so called, has been the most common effort, and is so at present, to promote intercommunion between the different religious bodies. Such movements as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Christian Endeavour, the Federation of Churches, the Evangelical Alliance, the Alliance of the Reformed Churches, and the like, have been made in the interests of peace, harmony, and co-operation, rather than of unity. But on the Continent of Europe, where the discipline of 'Irenics' arose, and where it has been the most fruitful—as for example in the uniting of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of the greater part of Germany in one Evangelical Church—henotic movements have absorbed irenic ones; and so the term 'Irenics' has come to be used to embrace all movements for *union* as well as *peace.* And it is certainly best to combine them: for although many movements for peace have been made, and still will continue to be made without going any further, yet they are all in fact preparatory to the bringing about of that much greater and more fruitful work, the Reunion of Christ's Church.

From what has been said, it must be evident that 'Irenics' is not only a theoretic discipline, but a most practical one, and one which is more and more becoming the greatest and grandest movement of the age. 'Christian Irenics' embraces the whole field of religion, and its institutions of worship and government, and doctrines of Faith and Morals, and these from the historical, systematic, and practical points of view.

As I have already said, it is necessary that 'Christian

Irenics' should be built upon 'Comparative Symbolics.' Only thus can it be removed from the loose, discursive, merely sentimental sphere, and be made definite, accurate, and practical.

The greater part of the differences which exist between the denominations of Christians, especially in America, are merely superficial, belonging to tradition and custom, to a great extent quite recent; and they have no official recognition in the Symbols of the denominations. It is necessary that all this superficial and transient material should be put aside in the study of 'Irenics,' as really of no practical importance. The only thing that is of practical importance is what the various denominations really stand for in their official utterances, in their Symbols: in their articles of Faith and their formulas of worship, government and discipline. This distinction at once sweeps away the greater number of differences, and some upon which the ministry, in their lack of knowledge of Symbols, lay great stress. The study of 'Irenics' has to do only with the differences between the Churches that are official, and which have been defined in their Symbols.

As I have been lecturing on 'Christian Irenics' for some years to Graduates in Theology, it may be suggestive to state summarily what courses of study I have found useful.

1. A *historical course*, distinguishing that which belongs to the 'consensus' of Christianity in the different periods of history from that which belongs to the 'dissensus': (i) *What is Christianity* in its essential, permanent, and universal characteristics? It is fundamentally necessary to distinguish genuine Christianity from its counterfeits. (ii) *What is Catholicity*? What do we mean by the Holy Catholic Church of the Apostles' Creed, as distinguished from unhistoric conceptions of Catholicity such as are involved in the exclusive use of Catholic for the Roman Catholic Church? (iii) *What is oecumenical orthodoxy*, as defined by the official Councils to which the universal Church adheres?

These three sections are built upon 'Positive Theology,' and upon 'Fundamental Symbolics.'

(iv) Next we consider what are the characteristics of Roman Christianity as distinguished from the Greek. This rests upon a study of 'Comparative Symbolics' in its first section, as distinguishing between the Symbols of the Roman and Greek Churches.

(v) We next have to distinguish the essential features of Mediaeval Western Christianity, those that are still shared by Protestant Christianity with the Roman Catholic, coming down from the scholastic period of the Middle Ages to the Reformation. These have to be determined by a comparative study of Roman Catholic and Protestant Symbols.

(vi) The principles of the Reformation, those which distinguish the Reformation from previous periods of history, must now be determined. These are derived from a comparative study of the Symbols of the Reformation both Roman Catholic and Protestant.

(vii) The 'consensus' of the modern religious denominations must finally be carefully distinguished from their 'dissensus.'

This course results in the determination of what Christianity in its different organizations really means.

2. My second course in 'Irenics' is also a historic course: 'A History of Irenic Movements in the Church.'

One who has not taken the pains to study this history will be astonished to learn what a great and important history it is, and how many eminent divines and laymen have taken part in it, and what an extensive literature has already appeared upon the subject. My catalogue of Irenic works, the most of which I have gathered for the library of the Union Theological Seminary, numbers 903 titles.

3. The third course that I have given in 'Christian Irenics' has been a study of the 'dissensus' of Christianity, in order to solve the hard problems of Christianity and to reconcile the differences in a higher unity. The result of some of these studies is in my volume on *Church Unity*. It is needful that theologians of all schools and parties, and denominations and Churches, should study these questions

from all points of view in a truly irenic spirit. Doubtless there are many hard problems, some of them very, very hard. But all problems can be solved by patient, brave, and truth-loving Christian scholars.

It is necessary, especially in our times, when every theological doctrine and institution is questioned, (1) to distinguish carefully the teachings of Holy Scripture from those which have been put in their place by Christian theologians; (2) to determine what the Church really stands for over against the teaching of the theologians. Only by making these discriminations can we get a sound basis under our feet in Christian Theology. The opinions of the theologians, and the philosophers, and the scientists, and the literary men have their own place and importance; but they cannot safely be intermingled with the divine teachings of Holy Scripture and the decisions of the Christian Church, which our Saviour promised should be guided by the Holy Spirit. At least these have venerable authority of the Fathers and the founders of the Churches behind them; and for this, if for no other reason, they greatly outweigh in importance the opinions of individuals, or schools, whether modern or ancient, however important some may think these to be.

'Christian Irenics' is a new discipline; but it is the resultant of all the previous theological disciplines, and it puts the capstone upon them all. It is a discipline which builds on the past and the present, but looks to the future, assured that, however sad the conflicts of Christ's Church have been in the past, and however dreary and confusing the differences of the present, eventually Christ's prayer to the Father and His promise will be realized: all these difficulties will disappear, and the Church will not only be theoretically one, and one in its great and overwhelming concord, but also one in external, organic union, as it marches on to the ultimate conquest of the world for Christ.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS.

Art. VI.—THE CHARTERHOUSE IN LONDON.

The Charterhouse of London : Monastery, Palace, and Thomas Sutton's Foundation. By William F. Taylor. Illustrated with Photographic Studies by the Author. (London : J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd. 1912.)

The appearance of a new History of Charterhouse in the year following on the Tercentenary of Sutton's great Foundation was an event perhaps to be expected, and it may be said at once that its author, Mr. W. F. Taylor, has produced a history which is in several respects the most complete, and in all respects the least inaccurate, of any which have hitherto appeared. For it must be said that there is no place of equal interest which has suffered so much at the hands of its historians. By an unhappy fate the first handling of its history fell to Samuel Herne, who, writing in 1677, sixty-six years after the death of the Founder, stood nearest in point of time to the facts which he might have most easily ascertained, and on that ground has been accepted as an authority by all who have followed him. But the garrulous old antiquary reached a point of reckless inaccuracy which must almost be labelled mendacity. His statements, repeated without verification, have spoilt the look of almost every history up to the present day. Mr. Taylor himself, though he appears from several sentences in his book to have taken the measure of Samuel Herne as an authority, has not entirely escaped from his influence. It is, indeed, a matter for regret that a good deal of new material had not yet come to light at the time when the author must have been engaged in the preparation of his book. Meantime we may be grateful for what we have got.

It is, of course, matter of common knowledge that 'Charterhouse near London' owed its origin to the Black Death, the most deadly of all the visitations of bubonic plague, which in the year 1348 entered England at Melcombe in Dorset, and spreading through that county and Somerset,

reached Bristol on August 15, and had before the end of the year wrought havoc in London itself. Robert of Avesbury states that it was at its height after Candlemas (February 2) and was over about Pentecost 1349. In the early months of the latter year the churchyards of London, numerous as they were, had already overflowed. Three new burial-grounds were opened: one on the land of the Fratres Minores (the Minories); a second of three acres on a spot called 'no man's land, between the lands of the Abbot of Westminster and the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem.' This plot, the gift of Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London, was called Pardon Churchyard. After the comparative quiescence of the plague it became a burial-ground for criminals and suicides, and was always the freehold of the Carthusians, although its chapel was served under agreement, the terms of which are extant, by the Priory of St. John, for the obvious reason that no Carthusian monk may undertake such duties. The third graveyard which was opened was a plot of thirteen acres and a rood before known as the Spittal Croft, subsequently as Newchurch hawe, and lastly as Charterhouse. This plot was purchased from St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Priory by Sir Walter de Manny or Mausny of Mausny near Valenciennes, who had come over in the train of Philippa of Hainault, and, following Edward III and the Black Prince through the French wars, becomes as much the hero of his countryman Froissart as Achilles of Homer's *Iliad*. Dr. G. C. Creighton in his 'History of Epidemics' states that the graveyard was opened at Candlemas 1349, and this may be so. But the Monastic Record states that the first stone of the chapel itself—one had almost called it the Mortuary Chapel—in which the mourners might offer prayer for the souls of the beloved dead, was laid on Lady Day of that year by Manny himself, accompanied by the Bishop of London, the Mayor of London, sheriffs and aldermen following, 'most of them bare-footed.' The Bishop took for his text the word 'Hail.' The Record adds that this chapel presently became the Church of the Monastery. Its walls beneath their coating of plaster and panel still form the walls of the

chapel in which the Brothers of Sutton's Hospital meet day by day.

The Black Death ended in London before the close of 1349, to be awakened once more in 1361 under the name of the *Pestis Puerorum*. Meanwhile, the great open space with its many thousands of sleepers lay uncared for and unseemly. Michael de Northburgh, the soldier Bishop of London—he who had been Edward's right-hand adviser in the French war and left a complete suit of armour in his will,—comes upon the scene. A Dominican himself, he had seen the life of the Carthusians, perhaps at Lyons or Avignon or Amiens or Montreuil, but certainly at Paris, and he cherished the desire to found a Carthusian House in his own diocese near London. It would seem that Manny himself had already entertained the idea of establishing a house—it does not appear to have been of the Carthusian Order, though it may have been—of twelve Capellani and a Master. The Bishop approached Manny (whom he doubtless knew well as a comrade of the wars), and the exact terms of the indenture between the two men, copied by our monk from the Latin document in the archives of the monastery, are known to us. They provide for the building of a Carthusian Monastery of twelve monks and a Prior (the normal number), who are to offer prayer for the souls of the two Founders, of Margaret Marshall (Dame Manny), and their heirs, and for the souls of all who have been buried there. And express statement is made that Northburgh was to take rank as the second Founder after Manny. Northburgh, dying in 1361, left to the future Monastery the large sum of 2000 marks and all his chalices, which were doubtless those which Cromwell removed at the suppression. But before his death the Bishop had summoned the Priors of the Charterhouses of Witham and Hinton. Both of the Priors died: the one on his way home, at Salisbury; the other on his return to Witham. And for some years no progress was made with the scheme, which indeed seems to have been opposed by ecclesiastics of great influence—the Record takes it for granted that the Devil was at the back of it. It was through the exertions

of John Luscote, Prior of Hinton, that, very late in Manny's life, and twenty-one years after the first stone of his chapel had been laid, the scheme in 1370 began to take visible shape under order of the Chapter of La Grande Chartreuse. Luscote in that year was sent to London as Rector. He had secured the protection of the ill-fated Simon of Sudbury, and before the end of the year he had so far shaped his Monastery that, by the aid of temporary houses, it was ready to accommodate six monks, from Hinton, Witham, and Beauvale, with one lay brother. It is extremely interesting to find that the old tradition is confirmed which connected Henry Yevele, the great master mason of Westminster Hall and the Abbey, with the buildings of the Monastery. The record, which by an obvious mistranscript has copied the 'Y' into an 'R' and read the looped final 'e' as a second 'l,' says that Luscote called in Henry Revell to design and construct the necessary buildings and the great cloister. In 1371 Luscote had become the first Prior. On Lady Day of that year the church was re-dedicated as the Church of the Salutation of the Mother of God, and that same day the stone of the first permanent cottage-cell in the great cloister was laid by Sir Walter Manny and Sir William Walworth, sheriff of London, a great benefactor of the Monastery. Luscote governed the Priory for twenty-seven and a half years before he was buried 'at the feet of Guy the Monk' in the cemetery 'opposite the cloister door by which one goes from the great cloister to the guest house, at a distance of 30 feet from the same door.' There, doubtless, he lies to this day.

But the completion of the twenty-four cells of the great cloister was very gradual. The list of the donors of cells include names written deep in English history. Walworth founded four; Adam Fraunceys, Mayor of London, founded five; Dame Margaret of St. Pol, the aged widow of Aymer de Valence, one; Hatfield, the famous Bishop of Durham, two; Bishop Bokingham of Lincoln one; and perhaps most interesting of all is the foundation of a cell by Sir Robert Knolles, 'the old brigand,' the great English *condottiere* of his day, who equalled a Hawkhurst or a

Piccinino in ability, and was more than a match for them in ferocity. But when Luscote died in 1398 only nineteen of the twenty-four cells had been completed. The Chapter-house, the frater, farmacy, parlour (*locutorium*), and the chapels about the church all remained to be built, and the ambulatory of the great cloister was unpaved and unceiled, while as yet no surrounding wall had been built about the Monastery. The mention of this last necessity brings us into close touch with the burning questions of that day. For a report of the Visitation of 1405 tells us that the two provincial visitors—from Belgium—found serious fault with the fact, probably without other example in the history of the Order, that women were admitted to the church. The explanation of this fact is given. It will be remembered that the church had for the first twenty-two years of its existence not been a Carthusian church but a chapel of the great burial-ground, to which men and women alike could resort to say prayers and hear masses for the souls of their lost ones. And the attitude of the common people had been so threatening that Luscote had not dared to deprive them of their privilege. Surprise has often been expressed that Charterhouse should have escaped the fate of St. John's Priory, just beyond its walls, in 1381, when Jack Straw's mob burned the latter to the ground and ran riot in the ruins for a week. No doubt the intense hatred felt for the Military Orders partly explains it, but it is clear that the inoffensive Carthusians had not been exempt from the terrors of the Peasant Rising. The commonalty regarded the enclosure of the Monastery as an infringement of their ancient right to run races and play games on this waste land. One instance is given when they broke in, as they had done at the ' Nonnes house of Clerkenwell,' and threw down such boundary walls as existed and made havoc among the buildings. Here, then, lies the explanation of this most strange departure from Carthusian rule. But in 1405 the unrest of peasants and townfolk was comparatively stilled, and the Visitors order first the surrounding of the Priory by a wall and the entire exclusion of women; and, further, the building of a chapel dedicated to St. Anne at the west

end of the church, which should open outwards to the town without any access to the Priory within, a chapel to which women might resort. We see this plan carried out to-day in several foreign Charterhouses, for example at Calci near Pisa, and Valsaint near Fribourg.

After the year 1405 the Record becomes one of gifts and legacies received and of indentures entered into for masses for the souls of the givers. The great conduit with its water supply arrives in 1431 at the cost of John Clyderhow. The skins on which the plan of supply is engrossed are in the Muniment Room in London, and are our chief authority for the relative positions of the buildings of the early Monastery, while the actual deed, to which Duke Humphrey was a witness, is in the Charterhouse Museum at Godalming. We notice the word which Mr. Taylor reads from the plan as 'age.' It is really 'Aye,' spelt so in later deeds at Charterhouse and later still 'Eye,' a word which long survived in the Somersetshire dialect, and also in the Eastern counties, meaning a pipe or issue of water. The Record comes to a sudden stop about the year 1499, the monk having died, apparently, in the Priorate of Richard Roche, with no one to succeed to his task. This is the more to be lamented since it was in the next thirty years that great changes took place in the buildings of the Monastery. Wealth had accumulated. It is to be noted that even in such cases as Pavia, Ferrara, Naples, or Miraflores, where the Carthusian rule of simplicity was laid aside for splendour in the churches, no increase of luxury or comfort was ever allowed to the interior of the cells. But an increase of dignity or space for the accommodation of guests seems to have been permitted even under the severer reading of the rules of the Order in France and England. During the Priorate of William Tynbygh (1499–1529) the little cloister was pushed forward to a position corresponding to the present 'Master's Court,' and room was thereby obtained for a large Guest Hall (the present Dining Hall) and perhaps for the monks' Refectory on the site of the present Brothers' Library. The 'obediences' of the lay-brothers, and probably their cells also, were rebuilt to the west of the

little cloister. Portions of this rebuilding, which included the lavendry, the brewhouse, the workshop, and the kitchen, still survive and are in daily use. But the endeavour to realize exactly what was done at this time is greatly hindered by the loss—one wonders if the Record Office will some day bring the books to light—of the latest account books of the Monastery.

It had, however, reached the height of its prosperity, the height also of its reputation—well deserved, since no charge of evil living ever lay at the door of the London Charterhouse—when the storm broke. The story of the last days of the Monastery, admirably told by Mr. Taylor—it is indeed the fullest and best part of his book—is one of the most pathetic pages of English history. The memory of these simple, dignified martyrs to conscience is endeared to every Englishman, without distinction of Romanist or Anglican. The treatment of the Carthusian monks has found no defenders. It cannot be defended. It can easily be explained. For Thomas Crumwell had brought his policy to a point which left him no retreat. In proportion as the reputation of any individual or any religious body was blameless and stood high in the eyes of the nation, so was their resistance fatal to his policy. And no religious body presented a record more blameless and none stood higher in popular esteem nor were more conspicuous than the London Carthusians. Even those debased instruments Layton and Bedyll could find no damaging facts, and could only fall back upon insinuations. It became inevitable to Crumwell's policy either that this reputation should be shattered and its influence rendered innocuous by a visible surrender of conscience, or else that the Carthusians should be swept out of the way. The first test applied to them had failed. Called upon to sign an acquiescence in the new act of succession which involved assent to the Divorce, they had returned the simple answer that to solitaries in cloister, long shut off from the affairs of the world, it belonged not to meddle nor make with whom the King might marry. Pressed further they expressed through their Prior, John Houghton, an opinion of demur. But presently, under

advice of other ecclesiastics, Houghton resolved that it was not a question on which he ought to call on his brethren to cast away their lives, and himself set the example of signing the assent 'so far as consisteth with the law of God.' Thus at the end of the year Crumwell's first shaft had fallen short. His next was armed with a more fatal barb. The imposing of an oath, with no saving clause to it, of acknowledgement of the King as the supreme head of the Church in matters spiritual and temporal brought the Carthusians to a point at which absolute refusal became a claim of conscience. Of the piteous story that follows—of the brave and dignified attitude of Houghton and his companions; of their cruel end on the gibbets of Tyburn and York and Hull; of the still more cruel deaths in the dungeons of Newgate; of the angel's work done by Margaret Clement;—of all this there is not space to speak worthily. The pages of the monk, Maurice Chauncey, and of many a later historian of widely different views bear internal testimony to the mournful sympathy with which they tell the tale.

A year or two more of mock government under a Prior of Crumwell's choice, a year or two more of hunting and of hounding the leaderless and more weak-kneed remnants of the monks and lay-brothers, and the Monastery was empty and ready for those who should break down its carved work with axes and hammers. We learn something of its fate from a happy accident. One William Daylle, put in by Crumwell as caretaker of the desolation, seems to have been charged with embezzlement. At any rate he drew up a defence, preserved in the Record Office, in which he sets down, with perhaps a malicious pleasure, the various petty pickings which had gone to my Lord Privy Seal (he had a taste for bay-trees and oak wainscot), and to the King's gardener (whose eye was for shrubs for the King's garden at Chelsea). The King, too, had loads of stone and timber, and carp from the fish-pond (where Pensioners Court now stands), and other unconsidered trifles. Crumwell's Prior retired into private life with the wainscot and other spoil of several cells. Layton had fairly earned his plunder of timber and stone and other valuables. We read of orchard trees, and bay-trees, and

rosemary, and loads of hay, and rose-trees, and we remember sadly that the forlorn street to the north of Charterhouse carried the memory of the monks' 'wilderness,' where these things grew, in its name of 'Wilderness Row,' till the County Council a few years ago swept away that landmark and gave us 'Clerkenwell Road' in exchange. Most interesting, too, is the item of 'six tables of the Refectory' whereof three are accounted for in the schedule, while perhaps two are still to be seen in 'The Brothers' Library.' The list in full calls up a painful picture.

We learn from it that the detached cottage-cells and gardens were let or assigned, together with some of the buildings at the north-east corner of Charterhouse Square, to tenants of great interest. Crumwell himself found some use for the Barber's Shop, which stood just at the entrance to Merchant Taylors' present Playground. Sir Arthur Darcy had a house and three cottage-cells—by the interest of Crumwell. He seems to have been succeeded by a tenant, also of brief tenure, whose name bulks large in the history of England and of Scotland. This was Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, grandson of 'Bell-the-Cat,' and the divorced husband of Queen Margaret Tudor, Henry's sister. He was in exile in London at this time and seems to have found a lodging here, by a strange coincidence almost next door to the house in which Catherine Parr was living with her second husband, Lord Latimer. Another coincidence is that Darcy and Angus were destined to face one another in the hostile armies at Ancrum Moor when Darcy led the charge of the English pikes. Angus was succeeded in his tenancy by Sir Marmaduke Constable who had fought at Flodden. But Lord Latimer's and Catherine Parr's house was no gift from Monastery spoil. John Nevill had leased it in 1532 from the Prior of Charterhouse. Mr. Taylor seems to think that the celebrated letter of Latimer to Crumwell, written in 1537, proves that Latimer was turned out of it. But there is no evidence to that effect. He was still (as Mr. Fry has shewn) paying rent for it to the commissioners in 1537, and in 1542 the reversion only of it was granted (Lord Latimer's lease being

expressly mentioned) to Sir Arthur Darcy. Latimer appears to have been still using it as his town house when his death, in 1542, left Catherine Parr the second time a widow.

The Monastery buildings were used meanwhile as a storehouse for the King's tents and pavilions. But in April 1545 they passed by grant of the Crown to Sir Edward North, Assistant Chancellor of Augmentations. This practised courtier, whose chief praise it must be that he died with his head on, adapted the surviving buildings of the Monastery to the needs of a great mansion, recasting the parts about the little cloister and guest-houses. It has been doubted by at least one capable authority whether the mansion which North built was really that which presently became Howard House (now the Master's Lodge and its surroundings) and not rather the house in Charterhouse Square which became Rutland House. But a mass of evidence, too complicated to be set forth in full, can be produced to shew that the mansion which North erected within the Monastery, though we cannot assert how far he carried it before its final transfer to Norfolk, was indeed the house presently called Howard House. It seems to have followed the lines, perhaps employed the very walls, of the buildings of the little cloister. North transferred it in 1553 to John Dudley, Earl of Northumberland, in whose designs for the succession North (he signed the Greenwich manifesto) was a sharer. The deed of 1553 follows in most parts the identical words used in the Crown grant to North of 1545, but with the notable insertion of words now describing a 'domum mansionalem.' Northumberland never occupied Charterhouse. The inventory of his goods at his attainder—which includes even the poor Duchess' body-wear—shews that he was still living at Durham (Duresme) House. Indeed his legal tenancy was but of a few months, and on Mary's accession so well did North play his cards that for services rendered (we wonder what) he received once more from the Crown the grant of Charterhouse. But when Elizabeth succeeded he had ceased to be a force in politics. When he lay on his death-

bed in 1564 the deed was already prepared, though not signed, which transferred Charterhouse to Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk. His house in Charterhouse Square he left to his wife, having evidently prepared it for her in view of his sale of Charterhouse itself.

Under the ownership of the Duke of Norfolk, Charterhouse, now called Howard House, was once more destined to make history. Elizabeth, who had used it as her palace for five days before her coronation, and had paid it a second visit in North's day, was no stranger to it in the days of her fickle and untrusty premier peer. But it was to be another queen than she who was to haunt it with her memories. Once more it is impossible to follow out the story of treason and intrigue of which Howard House was to be the centre; to tell with all the picturesque details how John Lesley, the Bishop of Ross, Queen Mary's envoy, came here at night and saw Howard in the Long Gallery. How the Scottish queen secretly sent to her latest suitor a cushion worked by her own needle having the device of a hand cutting down a young vine, of which the Attorney-General made so much at the trial. Once more it is the Long Gallery in which Norfolk receives the gift. Here, too, came the plotter Ridolfi at night—twice over, if the secretary's confession is to be believed; once only by Norfolk's confession—and we can trace his footsteps 'through lavendry court, and so up a new Payer of Stayers' (the great staircase) 'that goeth up to the old wardrobe' (perhaps the Master's first floor lobby) 'and so through the Chamber' (one of the Master's rooms) 'where my Lady Lestrange used to dine and suppe,' and so once more to the fatal Long Gallery. There were other interviews in that room between the Duke and Ross and the envoys of Mary of Scots. But it was in the Privie Chamber on the other side of the Court—now a forlorn and sad room which has not been saved by its historic interest from desecration—that the fatal letter from Mary was found 'under the matt in my master's chamber against the window where the map of England hangs.' And it was in the chapel—overflowing with nobler memories—that the bag of money from La Motte was

handed to the Duke's servant to reach after all not Queen Mary but Burghley. How, as we read the Burghley letters, the old place becomes alive with memories! The trusty maid Nell that carried the letters between Charterhouse and the Tower—no fear of a confession from her! Banister and Higford and Barker leading Ross and Ridolfi into the trap that Burghley had left open, while Lady Lestrange sits at her supper. The great window (still surviving) in the Long Gallery where Barber withdrew himself while Norfolk and Ridolfi made treason. And then the last act of the tragedy when the 'fotecloth nag' waits under the arch of Howard House and presently bears the duke away for ever, unseen on his way to the Tower, writes Sir Ralph Sadler, 'save by some of the villein multitude.' The Great Dream ended on Tower Hill in 1572. And never in that terrible century did head fall under a juster sentence.

He had done much for the fabric of the mansion, and at his death Howard House had assumed in structure, and to a great extent in adornment, the shape which it has hardly lost since. The Great Chamber, the Terrace and Cloister Arcade, the Screen of the Great Hall, and perhaps, or probably, the raising of its roof, the great staircase, the mantelpiece of the Master's Drawing Room, and many lesser features are due to his pride in his town house.

His successor, his son Philip, Earl of Arundel, was a man perhaps of better intention but not of stronger will. Something of a wastrel in his early days of town life, he became a serious man after his restoration in blood in 1581, joined the Roman Communion in 1584, and having foolishly tried to escape to the Continent committed a technical treason which consigned him to the Tower for the rest of his life. The unhappy prisoner, when the Armada was expected in the Channel, is said to have set aside a day of prayer with a fellow prisoner for its success. Next year he was attainted of treason and condemned to death—the fourth of his line in direct descent who had been so sentenced—but being left to linger in the Tower, and treated with severity which, in the case of a man of so little forcefulness, is hard to explain, he died a broken-hearted man at the age

of thirty-eight in 1595. His occupancy of Charterhouse had left little or no mark on the buildings. It is not possible to lay one's finger on a single feature which is certainly due to him. Whatever fears or suspicions Elizabeth may have had of Philip of Arundel, she felt no mistrust towards his brother Lord Thomas Howard, a great and loyal sailor in an age of great sailors—the man who, not far beyond his 'teens, had fought the Golden Lion in all the Armada fights, had led one of the divisions in the attack on Cadiz, and who was still one of the admirals on whom she could count if the Spanish sail should again be seen coming up Channel. Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, received a grant of Charterhouse which, by the way, he thought it safest to renew when James came to the throne. And a month or two before her death—a haggard, heart-broken old woman now, and how different from 'the splendid English girl' who had come there for her coronation—Queen Elizabeth once more sat in the Banquet Hall of Howard House. So, too, presently did James, who came there for his coronation and was feasted with many strange meats, all duly recorded; and who made many strange baronets, also duly recorded, in the Great Chamber above at one hundred pounds the baronet. Here perhaps, too, he first met Raleigh face to face. But Suffolk's heart was rather at Audley End than at Howard House, and when presently, under the hands of Thorpe and Bernard Jansen, the costly mansion in Suffolk took shape, and the bills were to be paid, Suffolk somewhat hurriedly got rid of his town mansion in 1611 to Thomas Sutton, well known to him of old as a soldier of the queen and perhaps by partnership in ventures on the high seas under Suffolk's flag. We may, perhaps, form an estimate of the work which the Duke of Norfolk had done upon the mansion by the fact that it passed to Thomas Sutton, not a bad judge of a bargain, for 13,000*l.*, while forty-six years before the Duke had bought it for 2,520*l.*

The remarkable man who had bought Howard House has had perhaps more inaccurate nonsense written about him than any man of equal interest. Thomas Sutton, a soldier from his youth up till the age of sixty-five, was a

man of good Lincolnshire family, whose father, Richard Sutton, was in 1532 living for a time at the quiet little out-of-the-world hamlet—as much so now as then—of Knaith, on the right bank of the Trent some three miles south of Gainsborough. Here Thomas Sutton was born in that year, but there is so much difficulty as to the exact house in which he was born—a difficulty not apparently observed by the local antiquaries—that it is safest not to accede conditionally to the belief that he was born in the Priory. It is said, but the evidence is not to be obtained, that he was at Eton and at Cambridge. St. John's, Jesus, and Magdalene have all claimed him. Herne sends him travelling and gives the exact sequence of years spent in Holland, Spain, and Italy. Here we are at once in the region of romance, and by a masterly touch Sutton, who was born in 1532, is made to serve at the siege of Rome in 1527. Then, on the same authority, he becomes private secretary to Dudley, Earl of Warwick (to whom, by the way, he may have been related), and to the Duke of Norfolk. We tread on safer ground when we say that he adopted the life of a soldier—remembering of course that soldiering before the days of a regular army was a very intermittent trade: yet, if we are to claim him for a profession, it can only be that of a soldier. He is, almost certainly, that Captain Sutton who served at the siege of Berwick in 1558. In 1560 he was certainly appointed Master and Surveyor of the Queen's Ordnance from Berwick to Edinburgh for life, a post, in view of the enormous importance attached at that time to the defences of Berwick, which proclaims at once that Elizabeth's advisers saw in him a valuable soldier. His value was presently to be proved. In April 1573 came the siege of Edinburgh Castle when Kircaldy of Grange and Maitland held the rock—the last acre or two of Scottish soil which still acknowledged Mary—against Morton and the English for thirty-three days. No siege up to that day had approached the record of its cannonade. Mons Meg alone from her vantage ground discharged a perfect pyramid of stone shot. At length the heavy guns from Berwick, 'The Queen's Peacemakers,' were ordered

round to Leith. Their transference must necessarily have fallen to the duty of Sutton. And, in fact, when they had arrived and were in position in May, he commanded one of the batteries, we know not which, whether that which was placed at the head of High Street and raked the Spur, or that which battered the defences from half-way down Princes Street, or one of the others. When the fiercest gunnery on record was at length silent and the red banner of Mary had fallen for ever, in the long peace that ensued Sutton was to see no more active service. He held his post till 1594, making probably annual visitations, first from Lincoln, afterwards from London; but he was to hear no further shot, from Mons Meg or any other, fired in anger. The cannon on either side of his arms in the Great Hall of Charterhouse, and 'the two Captains' supporters on Nicholas Stone's grand tomb of the Founder in the chapel, remind us that he was thought of in his own day as Master Gunner to Queen Elizabeth.

But by some perverse fate men have consented to follow Herne in describing Sutton as a Merchant; and most of them have followed the 'Bell-wether' in describing him further as a citizen of London. He was a Merchant only in the sense in which everyone, from the Queen and Burghley and Raleigh down to many and many a country squire, who had any money to spare made themselves Merchants by embarking their savings in one of the few outlets for investment, namely 'Merchant Venture' on the high seas. This later development of Sutton's life is now to tell.

The story goes, and is probably true, that, riding year by year from Lincoln to the north to inspect 'Mons Meg and her marrows,' Sutton had recognized the wealth of the coalfields and invested his capital—he was never a poor man even in youth—therein. Herne, with his picturesque outlook, calls him the pioneer of the coal trade in the north. But he forgets that coal-working had been in steady progress in Durham since the Thirteenth century. Then comes the statement, generally accepted, that he obtained a lease of the Manors of Gateshead and Whickham and made

thereby what for those days was a fabulous fortune of 50,000*l.*

The writer of the article on Coal-mining in the 'County History of Durham' states that Sutton had this said lease shortly after 1569, and that it became part of the 'Great Lease' which a body of merchants of Newcastle acquired, and which, after causing great discontent in London through its effect on prices, ran out in 1681. These facts fit in fairly well with the date of Sutton's coming south, and make it probable that he had sold his interest in the lease to good profit. These leases to Sutton perhaps exist among the records of the Bishops of Durham.

But from whatever specific sources Sutton's wealth was increased, it is certain that he brought it south in 1580, when he migrated from Lincoln to Hackney. He never lived in London, nor was he ever a citizen of London. And the picturesque touch by which Mr. Taylor makes him ride out with the other City Fathers to meet James I must be relinquished with regret. And again Mr. Taylor is surely mistaken in making him reside in the dilapidated mansion at Paul's Wharf. Herne makes him buy the wharf of the Bygots. Mr. Taylor speaks of his 'resigning the lease' in 1599. If the tenancy is established by document, it can have been only either a pure speculation, or else a convenient wharfage for the discharge of merchant venture in which he had interests. Indeed, the places of his residence are well known. On his first arrival he lived at Hackney—most of Sutton's property there, near the church of St. John, still belongs to Charterhouse. On his marriage in 1590 to Elizabeth Dudley, who had a life tenure of Stoke Newington Manor-house (now destroyed), he lived there. At her death in 1602 her manor passed to her daughter, the wife of Francis Popham, and Sutton returned to Hackney, where he died. Meanwhile, for his country houses he used Balsham and Castle Camps (especially) in Cambridgeshire; Littlebury, Ashdon, and Hallingbury in Essex—all of which he had bought, as well as other land in Lincolnshire, Essex, and Wiltshire. Most of this still belongs to Charterhouse. We also find the name

of a Thomas Sutton—generally believed to be the Founder—as using rooms at the nether end of St. Dunstan in the West, probably as an office or place of business only, since he was then domiciled at Hackney. But it is at this point, whereat it should have seemed easiest to have obtained sound fact, that Herne and his followers once more plunge into romance. Sutton is described as a Citizen and Freeman. He was neither. As a Girdler. The Girdlers' Company Roll knows nothing of it. As Paymaster to the Northern Army. There is no evidence. As Commissioner of Prizes to the Navy. The Navy Records are silent. As Victualler to the Navy and some garrisons in the Low Countries. Once more the Records are silent. He is said to have fitted out a privateer which brought in a galleon with 20,000*l.* Once more silence. He is said to have hung up the Spanish Armada for a year by calling up all the drafts on the bank of Genoa. Writers of the history of England have failed to corroborate the incident; but the historians of Sutton have enlarged it to a combination between Sir Thomas Gresham and Sutton for this national purpose. But Gresham was dead before Sutton came to Hackney. And so on with other statements which when deducted leave us with a somewhat scanty residue of fact. The name of Thomas Sutton is found in the list of subscribers in Essex to the national defence against the Armada. His subscription was 100*l.*, which represents the highest level reached in the various counties. Also in the lists of vessels which took part in the Channel-fighting occurs in the list of Drake's Division the Barque Sutton of Weymouth, seventy tons, forty men, commanded by Hugh Preston, which by tradition was Sutton's property. The writer of this article inclines to accept it. The custom of naming the private venture ships by the name of their owner or chief shareholder—*e.g.* 'The Galleon Leicester,' 'The Drake,' 'The Bark Buggins'—was ordinary. And Sutton was not without interests in the West country, if such interests are needed to explain his ship hailing from so convenient a port as Weymouth in Armada days.

That Sutton did not allow his capital to lie idle would

of course go without saying. But the ventures of that day, half national, half commercial, did not publish lists of their shareholders. It might have been awkward for the names of Elizabeth and her ministers to be found among the subscribers to the Island Voyage or to the Flores plate-ship expedition which Howard, the then owner of Charter-house, commanded. All that we really know is that Sutton bought land freely in many counties—some one has gaily labelled him as a Farmer on this account. And that he sometimes lent money and was paid interest for it. There-fore he has been labelled a money-lender. But he was, and he remained up to the age of sixty-two, a soldier, though a soldier who turned his private fortune to its best advantage. Some writers have made his marriage with Elizabeth Dudley one of the chief sources of his fortune. But that lady's fortune passed at her death to her daughter. Sutton in absence of legal heir had, so early as 1594, when he believed his end was near and had resigned his office, obtained letters patent with power of revocation to build a hospital for old gentlemen of fallen fortune, and a school for boys at Little Hallingbury in Essex. It is a strange coincidence that forty years ago when Dr. Haig Brown—rightly regarded as the second Founder of the school—was in search of a new site for it in the country, his views turned for a long time towards Hallingbury. Sutton, however, was to live for sixteen years after his resignation of his office as Master of the Ordnance, and he retained his vigour to the last, riding, at no long period before his death, to Bath and back to visit his land. But in 1611 his health was failing. It was in that very year that Lord Thomas Howard desired to sell Howard House. On May 9 the contract was signed. Sutton revoked the letters patent for Hallingbury, and on June 22 fresh letters patent gave permission for the foundation of the Hospital of King James in Charterhouse.

Of the difficulties which beset the Governors of the New Foundation, of the long delays, of the opposition which they had to encounter, and of the lawsuit with the relations, we need give no lengthened account; nor yet of Bacon's

attitude in the matter. He presently became, in spite thereof, a Governor, and there is something very pathetic in the laconic note in the Governors' Minute Book of his removal from their list in the hour of his disgrace a few years later. The worldly wisdom of the Governors shewed itself in the timely gift of 10,000*l.* to his Majesty for the repair of Berwick Bridge. Before that week was over the final consent was given, and the New Foundation started on its career of usefulness.

The Governors, who met on July 30, 1613 (the account for rushes to be strewn on the floor and for salmon to be eaten is still preserved), had been appointed, together with the first Master, in Sutton's lifetime. With great wisdom he had left them a free hand in settling the constitution of the Foundation. But it cannot be supposed that they were not well acquainted with his wishes and intentions. He had for years been studying the shape which his future hospital was to bear. In the Charterhouse Muniment Room is his copy of the regulations of the Knights of Windsor with his own marginal notes. His nephew, Richard Sutton, and his friend, John Lawe, were named by him as Governors. And it is extremely difficult to believe, as has been urged, that the first set of Governors at once perverted the purposes of Sutton's bequest from the needy poor to the 'distressed gentleman' class. The argument is too long to enter into here. Much of it is inferential. But, perhaps, the quotation of one single fact, vouched for by one who had it from Sutton's own lips, is worth giving. Sutton had intended himself to be the first Master. Remembering that the Master and officers were to take their daily commons with the Brothers, is it very probable that Sutton, whose life had always thrown him into the company of persons of good station and even high rank (to say nothing of his own marriage), should have designed for himself to end his days as the daily messmate of a class who by habits and manners would have had so little in common with him? The writer of these lines has spent much time, both for pleasure and for duty, in examining the question. He has convinced himself that the Governors in 1613 rightly interpreted

Sutton's Trust as designed for that particular class with whose needs and sufferings his own life had made him familiar—the old sea captain of the Armada; the old land captain of his own soldiering memories; the unsuccessful merchant venturer; or any of those whose paths of fortune had lain along his own. We are indeed tempted to see the Founder's own wording in the definition given by the Governors. 'Captains either at sea or by land, soldiers maimed or impotent, decayed merchants, men fallen into decay through shipwreck, casualty of fire or such evil accident: those that had been captives under the Turks.' To-day the amended statutes say 'officers in the army or navy, clergymen, merchants or persons engaged in trading, professional, agricultural or similar occupations,' with the added easement that a man may have property of not more than 60*l.* per annum value. It is to be deplored that the fall in land value has so diminished the revenues of Sutton's Hospital that the literal terms of his trust can no longer be carried out. The income will now only maintain sixty to sixty-five instead of the stipulated eighty. It is probably a unique fact in the history of any institution of similar utility that since its foundation in 1611 no legacy of any importance has fallen to its lot. Its reputation for great wealth—always exaggerated—is probably to blame for this. The tradition dies hard. Meanwhile, an institution unique in England, and more needed perhaps to-day than when it was founded, awaits the benefactor who shall come to its rescue with a fresh endowment.

Of the history of the School we must make no attempt to speak, not because it is not full of interesting material, but because we have passed the limit of our space. It must suffice to say that from the first it achieved results which can in some sense be gauged by the extraordinary number of names which it supplies to the compilers of the *Dictionary of National Biography*—a list the more remarkable since at no time up to 1800 did the School number more than one hundred all told. And it was still producing its full crop of distinguished men at the end of its London days when, in the growth of the great town and the change of

its surroundings, it became necessary to remove it to the heights of Godalming, where it at once took to itself a new lease of life. The name of William Haig Brown is rightly held in honour for this truly great achievement. We are glad also to note that Mr. Taylor pays a just tribute to the memory of Archdeacon Hale, who, in his remodelling of the Hospital, morally and physically, deserves the name of second Founder of the Hospital as Haig Brown that of the School.

In taking leave of Mr. Taylor's book, which has formed a text and basis of this article, we once more congratulate the author on the completion of a very difficult task. When it becomes necessary to issue a second edition, the rewriting of one or two chapters, the omission of a few pages here and there, and the addition of others will do much to emphasize its claim to be the best account hitherto published. The least satisfactory portions of the book at present are perhaps the handling of Sutton's life, and the last chapter in the book dealing with the buildings as they exist. Mr. Taylor has relied too much on the article in the *Archaeological Journal* of 1886, and on other sources of an even earlier date. But much of the information then available has been supplemented by the knowledge obtained in the last fifteen years, mainly by the loving labour of the late Preacher, the Rev. H. V. Le Bas, and by the able investigations of Mr. Basil Champneys and Mr. Carpenter, and a few others. Many problems have been solved in the last few years. A few more await solution, and perhaps by the time that a second edition is reached one or two solutions will have been found. There is enough found, and yet to be found, to provide historians, antiquarians, and architects with palatable food for a long time to come.

GERALD S. DAVIES.

Art. VII.—NEW ARAMAIC PAPYRI AND OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY.

1. *Drei Aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine.* Von Eduard Sachau. (Berlin: Verlag der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1907.)

2. *Aramaische Papyrus und Ostraker aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine.* Bearbeitet von Ed. Sachau. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1911.)

The purpose of this article is not to give anything like a full and detailed account of the papyri from Elephantine, which were published by Dr. Sachau, of Berlin, in September last, but simply to notice a few of the facts contained in them which appear to be of the most outstanding interest in connexion with Old Testament history, and to call attention to the problems which they seem to raise.

The island of Elephantine lies opposite Assuan, near the first cataract of the Nile, at the point which was, in ancient times, the boundary between Egypt and Nubia. The southern end of this island is occupied by mounds, which mark the site of the ancient city; and it was here that Dr. Sayce in 1901 was fortunate enough to obtain a papyrus-roll and some ostraka inscribed in Aramaic. These documents brought to light a fact for which there had previously existed no contemporary evidence—*viz.* the existence at Elephantine during the Persian period of a considerable colony of Jews. The documents were published by Dr. Cowley in the 'Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology' for 1903. The papyrus was a legal document relating to a loan, while the ostraka contained private jottings and correspondence. The assignment of these documents to the Persian period rather than to the Ptolemaic was conjectured by Dr. Cowley from the fact that they were written in Aramaic and not in Greek

or Demotic. This conjecture, as we shall see, has since been confirmed.

In 1904 a number of papyri, discovered by workmen at Elephantine, were offered for sale by dealers at Assuan, and purchased by Lady William Cecil and Mr. Robert Mond, who presented them to the Cairo Museum. These, together with another belonging to the same series which was subsequently purchased by the Bodleian Library, were edited by Dr. Sayce and Dr. Cowley, in 1906, under the title 'Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan.' They belong to the Fifth century B.C., and consist of business documents of considerable value as illustrating the social life and customs of the Jewish community at Elephantine.

Meanwhile, concessions for excavations at Elephantine had been granted to the German and French Governments, permitting them to divide the site of the ancient city between them. The Germans were the first to commence excavations. The remains of ancient Jewish houses were quickly discovered by them, and in two rooms in different houses a number of papyri were brought to light. These found their way to the Berlin Museum, and were entrusted to Dr. Sachau to edit. Three of the documents were published by Dr. Sachau in 1907, under the title *Drei Aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine.* Dr. Sachau's edition of the whole collection of papyri, together with a number of ostraka, did not, however, appear until last September. They include no documents of quite equal interest to the three published in 1907, but since further light was thrown upon these latter by Dr. Sachau's examination of the other papyri, and by the discussions of various scholars which were called forth by the edition of 1907, Dr. Sachau has included these three in his final edition of the papyri, with a much fuller commentary and a translation in some respects revised.

A very valuable review of Dr. Sachau's work by Dr. Lidsbarski appeared in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* for November 25, 1911. In this Lidsbarski criticizes Sachau's conclusions in many details, and sheds fresh light upon passages in which the translation presents unusual difficulty.

Since several of these difficulties occur in the document of which two copies exist, numbered Papyri 1 and 2, in Sachau's editions of 1907 and 1911, and since the main interest of the whole collection centres round this document, it may be useful at this point to give a translation of it. We need not discuss in detail the variations in the two copies. It will be sufficient to remark that the translation follows Papyrus 1 in the main, with corrections from Papyrus 2 in places where this latter seems clearly to preserve the more original reading :

1 To our Lord Bagohi, the governor of Judah, thy servants Yedonya and his companions, the priests in the fortress of Yeb. May
2 the God of heaven greet our lord exceeding warmly at all times, and set thee for favour before Darius the king
3 and the sons of the (royal) house a thousand times more than now, and give thee long life ; and be thou glad and well at all times.
4 Now thy servant Yedonya and his companions speak thus : In the month Tammuz, in the year 14 of king Darius, when Arsham
5 had departed and gone to the king, the priests of the god Hnub in the fortress of Yeb [made] a plot (?) with Waidereng, who was chief officer here,
6 to the following effect : 'The temple of the god Yahu, in the fortress of Yeb, shall be removed from hence.' Thereupon the aforesaid cursed (?) Waidereng sent
7 a letter to his son Nepayan, who was commander in the fortress of Syene, saying : 'The temple which is in the fortress
8 of Yeb is to be destroyed.' Thereupon Nepayan took Egyptians as well as other forces with him to the fortress of Yeb with their weapons,
9 they entered the aforesaid temple, destroyed it even to the ground, and broke the stone pillars which were there. Moreover,
10 they destroyed the five great gates, built of hewn stone, which were in the aforesaid temple, and their wooden doors, and the hinges
11 of the doors, which were of brass, and the roof of cedar beams . . . and other things which were

there—the whole they burned with fire. And the sacrificial bowls of gold and silver, and whatsoever was in the aforesaid temple—the whole they took
and appropriated to themselves. Now it was in the days of the kings of Egypt that our fathers built the aforesaid temple in the fortress of Yeb. And when Kambyses entered Egypt
he found the aforesaid temple built ; and while they demolished the temples of the gods of Egypt, no man did any harm to the aforesaid temple.
Now, since this has been done as related, we with our wives and our children have worn sackcloth, and fasted, and prayed to Yahu the lord of heaven,
who has shewn us [our desire] upon the aforesaid Waidereng ; dogs have pulled the fetters from his feet, and all the wealth which he had amassed has perished, and all the men
who devised evil against the aforesaid temple have all been slain, and we have seen [our desire] upon them. Moreover, prior to this, at the time when this evil
was done to us, we sent a letter concerning this. We sent to our lord, as well as to Yehohanan the high priest, and his companions the priests at Jerusalem, and to Ostanes, the brother
of Anani and the nobles of the Jews. Not a single letter have they sent to us. Moreover, from the month Tammuz of the year 14 of Darius the king
even unto to-day we wear sackcloth and fast, our wives are treated like widows, we do not anoint ourselves with oil,
nor do we drink wine. Moreover, from that time even unto [this] day of the year 17 of Darius the king, meal-offering and incense, and whole burnt-offering
have not been offered in the aforesaid temple.
Now thy servants Yedonya and his companions, and the Jews, even all the citizens of Yeb, speak thus :
If it seem good unto our lord, bethink thyself concerning the aforesaid temple to rebuild it, inasmuch as we are not suffered to rebuild it ; look upon
the recipients of thy goodness and thy favour here in Egypt ; let a letter from thee be sent unto them concerning the temple of the god Yahu,
that it may be rebuilt in the fortress of Yeb, as it was formerly

built, and that meal-offerings, incense-offerings, and whole burnt-offerings may be offered
26 upon the altar of the god Yahu in thy name; and we will pray for thee at all times, both we, and our wives, and our children, and all the Jews
27 that are here, if thou doest this, until this temple be rebuilt. And it shall be an act of merit to thee before
28 Yahu the god of heaven more than that of a man who offers to him a whole burnt-offering and sacrifices of the value of a thousand talents of silver. As for the gold,
29 we have already written about it and explained. Moreover, all the words in this letter we have sent in our name to Delaya and Shelemya, the sons of Sanaballat, the governor of Samaria.
30 Moreover, concerning all this that has been done to us Arsham knows nothing. On the 20th of Marheshwan, in the year 17 of Darius the king.

Of the three Persian kings who bore the name Darius, *viz.*:

Darius I, Hystaspes, B.C. 521–485,
Darius II, Nothos, B.C. 424–405,
Darius III, Codomannus, B.C. 336–330,

the first is excluded by the form of the Aramaic script, which must belong to a period later than his reign, and the third by the fact that he only reigned five years—whereas the letter is dated, as we have seen, in the 17th year of Darius. The Darius in question must, therefore, be Darius II, and the date of our document is thus B.C. 407.

With this conclusion other evidence contained in the document agrees. We notice the allusion in l. 29 to the sons of Sanaballat, the governor of Samaria. There can be no doubt that this Sanaballat is the same as the Sanballat who appears in the Book of Nehemiah as the leader of the Samaritan opposition to Nehemiah, and as doing all in his power to frustrate the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem. Nehemiah's first mission to Jerusalem is usually dated, it will be remembered, about B.C. 445.

Another person whose name appears in the Book of Nehemiah is Yehohanan (Jehohanan) the high priest at Jerusalem (papyrus l. 18). Nehemiah xii. 22 mentions

successive high priests in the following order: Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, Jaddua. In vv. 10, 11 the succession of high priests (father and son) from the time of Zerubbabel, is given as follows: Jeshua (the contemporary of Zerubbabel), Joiakim, Eliashib, Joiada, Jonathan, Jaddua. Here, therefore, Jonathan must be an error for Johanan.

Bagohi, the governor of Judah, to whom the letter is addressed, is mentioned by Josephus[1] as 'the general of the other Artaxerxes,' this 'other Artaxerxes' being Artaxerxes II, Mnemon, who succeeded Darius II and reigned from B.C. 404–359. He is called 'the other' in distinction from Artaxerxes I, Longimanus (B.C. 465–424).

Josephus[2] gives us an account of the relations of Bagohi with the high-priest Johanan. Johanan's brother Jesus was a friend of Bagohi, who had promised to procure the high-priesthood for him. Presuming upon the support of the governor, Jesus quarrelled with Johanan in the Temple, and provoked him to such an extent that in the heat of the moment Johanan murdered him. It was owing to this that Bagohi polluted the Temple and imposed a fine upon the Jews.

One or two remarks may be added by way of explanation of certain points in the letter. The name Yeb applied to Elephantine is the native Egyptian name, which Brugsch, in his *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'ancienne Égypte*, gives in the forms *'abu, 'ibu, iab, 'ib*. The god Hnub or Hnum is the ram-headed god, which is known to have been venerated by the Egyptians in the neighbourhood of the First Cataract.

The chief difficulties in translation are confined to two passages in the letter.

The first is the passage which refers to the fate of Waidereng (l. 16). Here we have followed Lidsbarski, who seems rather than Sachau to have divined the true meaning. Waidereng appears, for some unknown reason, to have undergone imprisonment and execution. His body, still wearing the fetters of imprisonment, is left exposed and unprotected; and the dogs are pictured as pulling the

[1] *Ant.* XI. vii. 1. [2] *Loc. cit.*

fetters off his feet as they devour it. This fate is regarded by the Jews as a punishment for his impious action in destroying their temple.

The second passage (ll. 27, 28) is that which is rendered: 'And it shall be an act of merit to thee before Yahu, the god of heaven, more than that of a man who offers to him a burnt offering and sacrifices of the value of a thousand talents of silver.' This rendering, which was first suggested by Professor Bruston, is adopted by Dr. Sachau in his later edition of the letter. His former translation ran thus: 'And thou shalt have a share before Yahu, the god of heaven, from every man who offers him a burnt offering and sacrifices, to the value of 1,000 talents of silver.' This rendering is also adopted by Dr. Sayce in an article in the *Expositor* for August last, p. 102; but it appears to be excluded owing to the fact that it gives an unwarranted sense to the term *sedaqa*, which regularly in Aramaic means an act of righteousness or merit.

We have now to ask the question, Who were these Jews of Elephantine, and how did they come to be settled there? We learn from the newly published papyri that they were a Jewish *garrison*. Such a garrison appears to have been stationed at Elephantine and Syene, the border fortresses, for the protection of the southern frontier of Egypt against Nubia. The expression *Chela Yehudayya*, 'the army of the Jews,' repeatedly occurs. So, for example, in the great name-list, Papyrus 18, col. 1: 'These are the names of [the members of] the army of the Jews who gave money to the god Yahu.' The force which these Jews composed was divided into divisions bearing the name *degel*, *i.e.* 'standard' (the term used in Num. ii. 10 of the standards of separate tribes), or 'flag-division.' There seem to have been six such flag-divisions; and while the commanding officers of four of them bear Persian names, two—*viz.* Iddinnabu and Nabukudurri—have Babylonian names. Dr. Sayce (in an article in the *Expositor* for last year, p. 113) points out the fact that the existence of this Jewish garrison is a striking confirmation of a passage in the Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates. Aristeas states that Jewish

auxiliaries were employed in Egypt by Psammeticus to assist him in his war with the Ethiopians, and that a still larger number of Jews were subsequently introduced by Ptolemy Lagos. Thus the inference may be drawn that the establishment of the Jewish garrison at Elephantine goes back to about B.C. 655, in the latter years of Manasseh's reign.

The most interesting fact contained in the letter is the existence at Elephantine of a temple of Yahu or Yahwe, at which sacrifices were regularly offered. This temple, we are told, was in existence before the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses—*i.e.* before B.C. 525. It was a solid and costly edifice with stone pillars, five great gates of stone with wooden doors, and a roof of cedar beams. Now the most outstanding point which strikes us with regard to the existence of this temple, and the fact that sacrifice was offered there, is that therein there was involved a direct violation of the regulation of Deuteronomy with regard to the single sanctuary. This regulation is to be found in Deut. xii., where it is laid down that sacrifice may only be offered at the single sanctuary which Yahwe chooses to set His name there, and that all other local sanctuaries, with the sacrificial worship which was bound up with them, are to be rigorously suppressed. We may also recall, in this connexion, the late story contained in Josh. xxii. 9–34, which belongs to the Priestly source, where it is related that the Reubenites, Gadites, and half tribe of Manasseh, before returning to their inheritance East of Jordan after their campaign in the West, set up an altar near the Jordan. This was regarded by the Western tribes as a capital offence against the religion of Yahwe, as being a violation of the law of the single sanctuary; and would have led to a religious war had not the Eastern tribes explained that the altar was not for sacrifice but merely a witness (*'Ed*) that they, though residing East of Jordan, had a right to a share in the worship of Yahwe at the single sanctuary, equally with the Western tribes. This story is of course a religious romance, framed from the point of view of post-exilic times in order to inculcate

the religious importance of confining the sacrificial worship of Yahwe to one place only within the Holy Land ; and can have no historical significance for the pre-Deuteronomic period during which the highest religious teachers, such as Samuel and Elijah, had no scruples about offering sacrifice at various local sanctuaries : but it serves to shew the state of religious opinion in Palestine with regard to the single sanctuary—*i.e.* the sanctuary at Jerusalem, at the period to which our papyrus belongs.

How, then, are we to explain so flagrant a violation of the law of the single sanctuary on the part of the Elephantine Jews ? The natural explanation is that the regulation was unknown to them, since they were settled in Egypt before the promulgation of Deuteronomy—*i.e.* if the ordinary critical assumption is correct that the law book discovered in the Temple in the 18th year of Josiah (B.C. 621) was in substance identical with the main part of Deuteronomy, and that the regulation of this code with regard to the single sanctuary was previously unknown, just as it was certainly unpractised. The fact that the Jews of Elephantine possessed such a temple and practised such sacrificial worship, in all probability explains why Jehohanan and the other priests at Jerusalem took no notice of their letter, as they state in ll. 18, 19 of the papyrus. Naturally they would be regarded by the Jerusalem hierarchy as renegades from the true religion ; though the reason for this attitude on the part of Jehohanan and his associates was clearly not apparent to them, since they were surprised at receiving no reply from the source to which it seemed natural to them to resort first of all.

It is interesting to find that their petition was favourably received by Bagohi, and permission to erect a new temple granted to them. Among the papyri there exists a brief rescript (Papyrus 3 in Sachau's editions of 1907 and 1911), in answer to their letter, which runs as follows :

1 A memorandum of what Bagohi and Delaya have said
2 to me. The memorandum is as follows : Thou shalt say in Egypt

3 before Arsham concerning the altar-house of the God
4 of heaven, which was built in the fortress of Yeb
5 before our time, before Cambyses,
6 which that cursed (?) Waidereng destroyed
7 in the 14th year of Darius the king,
8 that it shall be rebuilt in its place, as it was formerly,
9 and meal-offerings, and incense-offerings shall be offered upon
10 the aforesaid altar, as formerly
11 was wont to be done.

Here we observe that, whereas the petition (ll. 21, 23) speaks of meal-offerings, incense-offerings, and whole burnt offerings having been formerly offered in the temple, and begs for the restoration of the temple and of their sacrificial cultus, the rescript refers only to meal-offerings and incense-offerings, and omits all mention of whole burnt offerings, which one would suppose must have formed the most important item in the sacrificial worship. Yet it is difficult to think that whole burnt offering is *expressly* omitted—*i.e.* that it is implicitly forbidden—for so important an exception would surely have been definitely mentioned when the petition was granted in other respects. Moreover, it is stated that the cultus is to be restored 'as formerly was wont to be done.' The whole question of the sacrifices appears to be somewhat involved in obscurity. Why, for instance, are whole burnt offerings the only form of animal sacrifice mentioned in the petition, and not such other forms as the peace-offering and thank-offering of which the main characteristic was the sacrificial meal, shared by the offerer with the Deity? It does not seem that these latter are intentionally excluded in the petition, for l. 28 speaks of a man who offers to Yahu a whole burnt offering and sacrifices; this latter term no doubt implying animal sacrifices of the character of the peace-offering, etc. Can it be that the term *mincha*, instead of denoting meal-offering, as in later usage, is employed in the sense of offering in general, including animal sacrifices, as was the case in early times, and that in the rescript the term is intended to include the whole burnt offering, as well as

other forms of animal sacrifice? It must be confessed that the *order* in which the sacrifices are named in the petition (incense-offering intervening between *mincha* and whole burnt offering) is not in favour of such a supposition; still, as a possibility it is bound to come under consideration.

Dr. Lidsbarski, who takes the view that in the rescript permission to offer whole burnt offerings is intentionally withheld, thinks that light is shed upon the subject by the contents of a very fragmentary and obscure papyrus (papyrus 5). In this document we have a petition from five Jews, probably as representatives of the community, to a higher official. Their words, according to Lidsbarski's rendering, run as follows:

'If our lord [approves], and the temple of the god Yahu [be restored] in the fortress of Yeb, as it was formerly, sheep, oxen, goats, a whole burnt-offering (?) shall not be offered there, but incense-offering, meal-offering [shall be offered] . . . then will we give to the house of our lord . . . 1,000 Ardeb of barley.'

Here the rendering 'sheep, oxen,' is very doubtful; and the two words in question (which are quite clearly written on the original papyrus) may be read as 'a nest of turtle doves'—*i.e.* perhaps 'a *pair* of turtle doves,' since the dove's brood regularly consists of two only. The next word probably means 'goat,' while the word following, which Lidsbarski renders 'a whole burnt offering (?),' is not the word which is used elsewhere in this sense, but a highly obscure word about which all that can be affirmed is that it may possibly denote 'something roast.' All that we can say, therefore, with regard to this document is that a certain number of offerings, all of which appear to be animal sacrifices, are specified as *not* to be offered in the restored temple, while on the other hand incense and meal-offering *are* to be offered.

Upon the view, then, that permission to offer animal sacrifices at the restored temple was withheld by Bagohi, may we suppose the course of events to have been as follows? Bagohi, on receiving the petition from Yedonya and his

colleagues, was favourably impressed and determined to grant it, but as a preliminary step held consultation with Yehohanan and the other priests at Jerusalem. These latter would naturally have preferred to have withheld permission for the restoration of the temple, and so to have suppressed so irregular a form of the worship of Yahwe; but, finding Bagohi firmly set upon his purpose, they managed to effect a compromise, which was that unbloody sacrifices—*viz.* meal-offerings and incense—might be offered in the restored temple, but animal sacrifices were for the future to be forbidden.

We now have to notice a most interesting and important fact, which proves that the members of the Jewish community were certainly not under the influence of the strict monotheism and hatred of idolatry which distinguish the Book of Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code. It is true that the God Yahu was their supreme deity, and that we find mention of the temple of Yahu only; but it is quite clear also that alongside of Yahu, even though doubtless subordinate to Him, recognition was made of a certain number of other deities. We may notice first of all that the opening formula of letters, 'May God salute thee' (*literally*, 'ask thy health') sometimes appears in the form 'May the gods salute thee.' If in these latter occurrences it were merely the case of the use of the plural form *'elahayya*, 'gods,' for the ordinary singular *'elaha*, 'God,' it might be supposed that the plural was an instance of the so-called 'plural of majesty,' here used in Aramaic, as constantly in Hebrew. But the point to be observed is that this plural form is coupled with a plural verb 'ask,' a fact which surely makes it certain that a plural 'the gods' is intended.

There is, moreover, other most important evidence. Papyri 17–20 contain a lengthy temple list of the names of members of the Jewish garrison who gave money to the God Yahu. The sum total of this money is entered as 31 *karshin* 8 shekels, and it is apportioned as follows: For Yahu, 12 *karshin* 8 shekels; for 'Ashem-bethel, 7 *karshin*; for

'Anath-bethel. 12 *karshu*. Besides these deities, we find allusion to Herem-bethel[1] in Pap. 28, l. 7, and he is distinguished as *'alaha*, 'God.' In Pap. 33, l. 3, we meet with 'Anath-yahu. As to 'Anath it is well known that she was a Canaanite deity, perhaps corresponding to the Babylonian Antum or Anatum, the female counterpart of Anu, the god of heaven, who was first among the highest triad of gods, Anu, Enlil, and Ea, in the systematised cultus of the Babylonians. Traces of the cult of this goddess among the inhabitants of Canaan in early times are preserved in the place-names Beth-'anath, 'Anathoth (a plural form), and in the proper name Shamgar, the son of 'Anath. Jeremiah tells us that the Jews of his time (and especially their wives) were accustomed to practise the cult of 'the Queen of heaven,' both at Jerusalem before its fall (vii. 18), and afterwards when a remnant of them had escaped into Egypt carrying Jeremiah with them (xliv. 17, 18, 19, 25). These Jews, we are told, dwelt in Pathros (xliv. 15), *i.e.* in upper Egypt, in which Elephantine was situated. They tell Jeremiah that, so long as they practised the cult of the Queen of heaven, things went well with them, but since they abandoned it misfortune overtook them; and they express their determination to return to the cult. It seems, therefore, very likely that this 'Queen of heaven' was the goddess 'Anath, whose cult we now know was practised by the Jews of Elephantine.

The first element in 'Ashem-bethel has been compared with 'Ashima, the god whom the Hamathites who were settled in Samaria by the Assyrian king are said to have brought with them from their native country (2 Kings xvii. 30). Certain scholars have also compared the 'Asmath of Samaria mentioned by Amos in viii. 14. This is rendered in R.V. '*the guilt* of Samaria'; but it is quite likely that the word may be a proper name, since the reference is clearly to swearing by an idol.

With regard to Herem-bethel nothing can be affirmed.

[1] In 'Ashem-bethel, Herem-bethel, the vocalization of the first element in the names is purely conjectural.

Possibly Herem may be the Hebrew word which means 'sacred thing,' or 'taboo'; but this is very uncertain.

The use of 'Bethel,' as we find it here, is exceedingly interesting. Two or three times elsewhere in the papyri we find the proper name Bethel-nathan—*i.e.* 'Bethel hath given'—a form just like Jonathan, 'Yahwe hath given,' or Elnathan, 'God hath given.' This proves beyond a doubt that Bethel, 'house of God,' is here used as the proper name of a god. Accordingly, a name like 'Anath-bethel is probably not to be taken to mean ''Anath of Bethel,' but the deities 'Anath and Bethel are equated, exactly as on the Moabite stone we meet with the compound deity 'Ashtor-Chemosh.

Bethel, as is clear from the narrative of Jacob's vision in Genesis, must have been a sacred stone, regarded first as the abode of a deity, and then apparently (as the evidence of the papyri seems to indicate) itself identified as the deity. It will be remembered that Jacob, when he awakes after his vision, takes the stone on which his head has rested, sets it on end as a *massebha* or standing stone, pours oil upon it and says 'this stone shall be God's house' (Gen. xxviii. 18–22). The passage in Gen. xxxi. 13 has always caused some difficulty to scholars, since it appears to violate the ordinary rules of Hebrew construction. The R.V. renders 'I am the God of Bethel'; but the fact is that the relationship between the words God and Bethel is not genitival, but clearly a relationship of apposition. The statement is most naturally rendered 'I am the God Bethel.' Here, then, we may perhaps recognize a primitive identification of the stone itself with the deity, such as seems to have been made by the Jews of Elephantine.

The veneration of Bethel by the Jews of Elephantine, in conjunction with 'Anath and 'Ashem (if identical with 'Ashima, 'Ashmath), suggests that in the later days of the Judaean monarchy Judah may have been influenced by the cults of the principal sanctuaries of the Northern kingdom, Bethel, Samaria, etc. This probably explains the care which Josiah took, in the course of his religious reformation, to desecrate the sanctuary of Bethel, so easily accessible

from Jerusalem, and to destroy its altar. If the worship of 'Anath came southward from Bethel, this fact affords interesting corroboration of a brilliant emendation made by Dr. Wellhausen in the text of Hos. xiv. 8, which assumes the existence of such worship in the Northern kingdom during his day: 'What hath Ephraim to do any more with idols? *I am his 'Anath and his 'Ashera'* [1]—*i.e.* in the future age to which the prophet looks forward, Yahwe (and He only) will take the place of the idol deities.

The last point which can be noticed in this article is the question, which immediately suggests itself, of the possible bearing of the facts which we have noticed upon the difficult passage, Isaiah xix. 19 ff., which occurs towards the close of the oracle on Egypt. Here it is said that 'in that day there shall be an altar to Yahwe in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a standing stone at the border thereof to Yahwe. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto Yahwe Sebha'oth in the land of Egypt, etc.' Now, as we have seen, Elephantine was on the border of Egypt—*i.e.* its extreme southern border—and there, during the Persian period and earlier, there was an altar-house to Yahu, equipped, as we may assume, with *massebha* or standing stone; since it can hardly be doubted that such an object formed the integral feature of the Bethel worship. Are we, then, justified in finding in these facts the explanation of the passage in Isaiah? At any rate a very plausible case can be constructed.

Whatever view be taken of the authenticity of the main portion of Isa. xix., the opinion is very generally held that vv. 16–25 (a prose-appendix to the previous metrical prophecy) can scarcely be the genuine work of Isaiah, nor indeed date from a period earlier than the post-exilic. The much-discussed v. 18, for instance, seems to presuppose the existence of a considerable colony of Jews of the Dispersion

[1] Reading *lô* for *lî* and *'ani 'anatho wa'asheratho* for *'ani 'anîtho wa'ashurennu*, R.V.: 'I have answered, and will regard him,' which seems to yield no sense suitable to the context; cf. *Die Kleinen Propheten*, pp. 21, 131.

at Heliopolis, 'the city of the sun,'[1] which is specified as one of the five cities speaking the language of Canaan and swearing by Yahwe Sebha'oth.

If v. 18 refers to Jewish colonies in Egypt, and notably to that at Heliopolis, it is natural that the next short oracle (vv. 19 ff.) should speak of the Yahwe-worship carried on by the Jewish garrison at Elephantine. But how (if this be so) are we to suppose that these oracles came to be inserted into the book of Isaiah at the close of the older prophecy on Egypt? The first thought which suggests itself is that in post-exilic times the existence of such a temple, altar, and standing stone must have seemed anathema to a Jew of Palestine, and could scarcely have been alluded to in the terms of Isaiah xix. 19; and in fact we have found reason to suppose that the attitude of Jehohanan and the priestly party at Jerusalem was probably the reverse of sympathetic towards the community at Elephantine.

Could the appendix to Isaiah's prophecy have been inserted, then, not by a Palestinian but by an Egyptian Jew? Dr. Whitehouse, commenting on v. 18, remarks that, if the reference is to Heliopolis 'we must regard it as most probable that this verse originated in Egypt rather than Palestine.' But how could an insertion made in Egypt have gained currency in Palestine as part of the authentic book of Isaiah? In default of evidence which might indicate that such an account of the origin of this appendix is plausible or even possible, we may surely dismiss it as out of the question.

In face of these difficulties, the following conclusion may be put forward as to the origin of Isaiah xix. 16 ff. The book of Malachi must have been written during the Persian period, and most probably at a date not far removed from the date

[1] It can scarcely be doubted that in *îr ha-heres*, 'city of destruction,' of our Hebrew Bible there is an allusion to Heliopolis under the title *îr ha-cheres*, 'city of the sun'; though whether the Biblical form is a word-play of the original writer or the intentional alteration of a later scribe cannot be definitely decided. The expression 'one *shall be called*' (as implying a special significance in the name) favours the former alternative.

of the papyri which we have been discussing. Malachi i. 11, one of the most remarkable passages in the Old Testament, surprises us by the breadth of its religious outlook. In contrast to the superficial and lifeless worship offered to Yahwe at Jerusalem, the prophet maintains in Yahwe's name that 'from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same My name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto My name, and a pure offering; for My name is great among the Gentiles, saith Yahwe Sebha'oth.' It does not concern us here to inquire whether he is actually referring to worship offered by the heathen, or 'to the Jews of the Dispersion, who, scattered through the world, rendered by their offerings of prayer and praise a more acceptable service to Yahwe than the careless priests in the Temple at Jerusalem,' Yahwe's name thus being 'magnified among the heathen more than in His own Temple and in the city of His choice.'[1] The point which we have to notice is that here we have a prophet who, in face of the ritual regulations of Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code, actually ventures at this period to assert that it is the *intention* of religious worship and not its outward accessories which really matters in the sight of Yahwe.

There is no reason to suppose that Malachi (if this be his name) stood alone as the representative of this attitude of mind with regard to Yahwe's religion. Let us suppose that one of his disciples (if not the prophet himself) was reading the book of Isaiah as it existed in his time, and reflecting on the fact that in Isaiah's day Assyria and Egypt were the two great world powers, bound in the near future to come into conflict and only too likely (according to human probability) to involve the destruction of the little state of Judah in the crash which must ensue. It was the inspired genius of Isaiah (he would reflect) which had foreseen the dawn of a brighter age and the persistence and ultimate vindication of Yahwe's religion. Now, as a matter of fact, both Assyria and Egypt had become the homes of the true religion, since in them, as in Judah, there were Jewish communities professing the faith of Yahwe and offering Him faithful

[1] Driver, *Century Bible, ad loc.*

service. In Egypt it was worthy of notice that at the extreme southern border there was a standing stone 'to Yahwe,' marking out the whole land, as it were, as His dwelling place. It was also matter for thankfulness and hope that now there was 'a highway from Egypt to Assyria' (v. 23); since under the well-disposed Persian Government Yahwe's worshippers could go from one extremity of the realm to the other, and Egypt was able to 'worship with Assyria.' Indeed, it might be said that Israel was now a third with Egypt and Assyria as a blessing in the midst of the earth (v. 24). These facts as to the spread of Yahwe's religion were in very truth a vindication of Isaiah's inspired outlook three hundred years earlier, and were therefore worthy of placing on record. Where could they find fitter notice than as an appendix to the ancient prophecy with reference to the Egypt of Isaiah's time?

The appendix to Isaiah xix. may thus be reasonably assigned to a prophet writing during the Persian period, and probably during the latter half of the Fifth century B.C.; and it is to the newly published papyri that we owe the clue to the origin and significance of one of the most obscure passages in the writings of the Old Testament prophets.

C. F. Burney.

Art. VIII.—LIBERAL CHURCHMEN AND THE WELSH BILL.

1. Established Church (Wales). A Bill to terminate the establishment of the Church of England in Wales and Monmouthshire, and to make provision in respect of the Temporalities thereof, and for other purposes in connection with the matters aforesaid. *Ordered to be brought in by The Prime Minister, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. M'Kenna, Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Solicitor-General, and Mr. Herbert Lewis. Ordered, by* The House of Commons, *to be Printed,* 21 *April* 1909. (Printed by Eyre and Spottiswoode, Ltd., Printers to the King's most Excellent Majesty.)

2. Royal Commission on the Church of England and other Religious Bodies in Wales and Monmouthshire. *Report* of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire 'into the origin, nature, amount and application of the temporalities, endowments, and other properties of the Church of England in Wales and Monmouthshire; and into the provision made, and the work done, by the Churches of all denominations in Wales and Monmouthshire for the spiritual welfare of the people, and the extent to which the people avail themselves of such provision.' With *Minutes of Evidence and Appendices.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty. (London: Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1910–11.)
3. Established Church (Wales). A Bill to terminate the establishment of the Church of England in Wales and Monmouthshire, and to make provision in respect of the Temporalities thereof, and for other purposes in connection with the matters aforesaid. *Ordered to be brought in by Mr. Secretary M'Kenna, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Solicitor-General, Mr. Ellis Griffith, Mr. Herbert Lewis, and Mr. William Jones. Ordered, by* The House of Commons, *to be Printed,* 25 *April* 1912. (London: Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office.)
4. *Manchester Guardian.* Welsh edition reports. (Manchester. 1906–1912.)

[This Article is inserted as representing the views of a Liberal Churchman.[1]—Ed. *C.Q.R.*]

ANYONE present at the opening debate on the Second Reading of the Welsh Disestablishment Bill might have

[1] Other articles dealing with the proposals for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Welsh Church from various standpoints are the following: 'The Value of the Establishment of the Church,' by A. C. Headlam, D.D. (*C.Q.R.*, October 1911); 'Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Welsh Church' (*C.Q.R.*, October 1911); 'The Irish and Welsh Churches: an Alleged Analogy,' by Frank Morgan (*C.Q.R.*, January 1912); and 'The Strength and Weakness of a Disestablished Church, as seen from Within' (*C.Q.R.*, January 1912).

carried away an interesting impression. He would have heard in close succession two speeches equally earnest and convinced, equally representative of what was best on the respective sides, and equal in their incapacity to meet or even to recognize what was sound and strong, each in the position of the other. He would have heard Sir Herbert Roberts voicing 'the persistent demand of the Welsh people,' appealing to the electoral records of forty years, and commending the cause so patiently worked for to the loyal consideration of the Imperial Parliament. He would have heard Mr. Bridgman insisting, with equal force, that to satisfy this demand in the way proposed by the Government would involve grave injury, not only to the work of the Church, but to the whole cause of religion in the Principality. Neither speech appeared to be answerable on its own ground: the two, in fact, were not *in pari materia*; a claim essentially political was being opposed on grounds expressly religious. This is not to suggest that there is nothing of religious feeling and conviction behind the Welsh plea for Disestablishment. Such feeling and conviction exists; but it has long become completely habituated to political expression; and it has become so naturally and inevitably. For the demand for 'religious equality' is plainly a political demand. The phrase is a loose phrase meaning really the political equality of religious professions. Its proper sphere is that of politics; and therein consists both its strength and its weakness. Parliament, on the one hand, is bound to listen to it; but Parliament, in these days, is honourably conscious of its own limited competence in matters of religion, and listens to it, accordingly, with a certain hesitancy and misgiving. Among the 'considerations of high policy' which, according to Mr. Asquith, are impelling the Government to attempt to deal with this problem in earnest, not the least cogent, we may be sure, is the desire to remove for ever from the field of politics and the purview of Parliament an issue which is so fruitful of embarrassment.

At first sight the operation might appear simple. Not less decided than this Welsh demand is the definite form

in which it is traditionally couched. The present Bill is the lineal descendant of former Bills. Throughout the series 'Disestablishment' has a definite meaning; 'Disendowment' runs to a certain definite figure; the arrangements so laid down are declared by the stalwarts in Wales itself to represent 'the utmost limit of concession'; and their leaders vehemently aver that 'it would be better to wreck the bill and wreck the Government' than to suffer any modifications in the direction of liberality. Now it happens that this cut-and-dried scheme, though it has been in existence a long while, has not been subjected to really serious scrutiny. It has been debated, of course, in Parliament; but always with the understanding that having passed the House of Commons it would be promptly rejected in 'another place.' The Parliament Act has changed all that. Liberalism has now to justify itself for attempting to carry this measure under cover of the Parliament Act, and has, furthermore, to commend its manner of doing so to the conscience of the country. Neither operation is proving at all easy. The 'mandate' in favour of the measure is, to say the least, uncertain. We need not cavil, in these days, about the principle of the mandate, though the theorists of a former generation would have scouted it entirely. The trend of modern politics, the elaboration of the machinery of party, the congestion of party programmes, the vast extension of the electorate and the consequent social cleavage which has arisen between the ordinary elector and the ordinary member of Parliament —all these things have given to the principle of the mandate a real authority; it is established as a ruling factor in affairs, and has been assumed as the basis of the Parliament Act. Now, to their credit be it said, the promoters of Welsh Disestablishment, while insisting upon recognition for the persistent voice of Wales, have not pretended that the mandate necessary could be given solely by the Welsh electorate. Several years ago Mr. Lloyd George, in justifying to some restive Welsh supporters the appointment of the Royal Commission, reminded them that a former attempt at legislation had proved abortive through lack of authentic

facts; assuring them that when the facts were once ascertained by the quasi-judicial labours of the Commission, they 'would be accepted by English public opinion as more or less settling the dispute.' It happens, however, that since the Commission concluded its labours, 'English public opinion' has had no opportunity of recording any judgement upon their results; while the Government is pressing forward the measure under conditions which ensure that no such opportunity shall be afforded. And yet the work of the Commission is not of such a character that it can be allowed to go for nothing. It has actually made matchwood of certain tough old planks in the Liberationist platform; it has shewn that such contentions as that the Welsh Church is an 'alien' Church and that her adherents are 'a dwindling minority' can no longer be colourably maintained. We now have it on authority that among the religious bodies of the Principality the Church holds the foremost place: that she is the only body which can shew, in recent years, a record of sustained progress: that, by reason of her meagre endowments, she is enabled to do a work which no other body does or can do: that these endowments tend in no way to check the flow of actual liberality, in which Churchmen are not outdone by their Nonconformist brethren: and, finally, that for positive evidences of spiritual vitality the Welsh Church contributes to raise and not to lower the standard of attainment in the Church of England as a whole. Now we do not claim that these facts in themselves dispose of the Welsh Church question; we do claim that they should be an effectual bar against any attempt to dispose of it on the lines of a harsh and ill-conditioned scheme conceived amid the narrownesses and bitternesses of a bygone generation. So far as that scheme reflects anything but the unhappy feelings of which it was born, it reflects the conditions of the Irish Church settlement of 1869. It has been shewn over and over again how greatly the analogy fails in detail. It is, however, its failure in general which is most significant. The most assured claim which is made on behalf of the Welsh Church is that she is a progressive

and an advancing Church. The fact is undisputed; and it has elicited generous encomium from the lips of the two Liberal Prime Ministers who have been most closely concerned with this question. But the heart of the gravamen against the Irish Church, the justification for her drastic overhauling by Parliament, was that she was not progressive and that she was not advancing, and that her position of Establishment, in the then condition of Ireland, was of such a nature as to preclude her becoming so. There was, however, no suggestion of vindictiveness about the Irish settlement. The Irish Church retained, after Disestablishment, an ampler revenue for carrying on her work than the Welsh Church possesses before it. The terms of Disestablishment were such as, with the aid of good management and loyal self-sacrifice, to assure for the Disestablished Church an honourable and vigorous future. The courage and success with which she set herself to realize that future became, notoriously, a source of no little disappointment among the more hard-bitten Liberationists. As they saw her shaken ranks rallying and reforming, their feelings were not unlike those of Bismarck towards France in 1875. Mr. Gladstone and his Government were reproached for an excess of liberality; and it has been commonly said that whenever the Welsh Church case came up for settlement, precautions must be taken against a like mistake. The triumph of this spirit was seen in the notorious Welsh Bill of 1909. We are inclined to acquit the administration as a whole of any conscious complicity in this measure. It is impossible to imagine it as the matured work of a cabinet of statesmen. Their hands were full of the Budget legislation; and they doubtless regarded the Welsh Bill merely as a necessary piece of window-dressing for the benefit of their Welsh constituents. Be that as it may, the Bill was produced, and it reflected with sufficient clearness the designs of its real authors. Tactically, its introduction was a considerable blunder. It obliged its promoters to shew their somewhat skinny hand in the terms of a measure which was bound, as everybody knew, to come to nothing. It was useful, however, as a revelation of a type of mind,

and was worth all the close attention which it received. The proportion of her endowments to be left to the Disestablished Church was 1*s.* 5½*d.* in the £. There was a deliberate departure from the Irish precedent in the refusal of any provision for the commutation of life interests. Even in the grudging provision made for the satisfaction of these interests, the Bill went out of its way to offer a pecuniary premium to any beneficed clergyman who might feel at liberty to forsake his work. It may or may not have been a designed attempt—again, we say, on the part of its real authors—to hamstring a spiritual society in the fulness of vigour. At any rate it compelled plain-dealing men to ask themselves whether the Welsh Church did or did not deserve to be treated like a public enemy. In answering that question the general conscience very fairly anticipated the findings of the Royal Commission. The one effect of the abortive Bill of 1909 was to raise formidable difficulties in the way of any future and more serious attempt to legislate upon the same lines.

The position of the Government, in taking up the matter in 1912, is in one respect like that of 1909. Again its hands are full, this time with Home Rule and labour troubles; and there has been no sufficient brain to spare for the due consideration of this Welsh project. Again it has been left to the understrappers of the Ministry to produce the same stale old fly-blown dish from the same stuffy larder, promising only that if those who were condemned to partake of it behaved themselves and shewed an accommodating spirit, some effort might be made to sweeten it in Committee. In other respects the position is different. The Bill, though its main features are unaltered, is now a serious project of legislation. Good or bad, it can become law, under the operation of the party machinery and the provisions of the Parliament Act. In flinging down the old Bill and telling us that we had better accept it with a good grace, the Government were guilty of short views. They should have foreseen that in introducing it under cover of the Parliament Act they were imposing upon themselves the obligation to make it, from the outset, a reasonable and

workmanlike measure. That obligation was neglected, doubtless by reason of pressure; and the consequences have been quick to appear. Liberalism is a principle of public action, and measures of a harsh and arbitrary nature are alien from its spirit. There are features in the Bill as presented to Parliament which many Liberal members, Nonconformists not less than Churchmen, instinctively dislike. They see, for one thing, that even to propose to mete out to the Welsh Church to-day more rigorous measure than was accorded to the Irish Church in 1869 is to place the party in a false position, and to lay it open to sinister imputations under which it has no need or wish to lie. They cannot conceive that any interest of public justice is to be served by such a course. Moreover, the Welsh members are fortunately not the only members who have constituents. Not a few Liberal seats are held by modest majorities; and even if it be admitted—though we ourselves should be indisposed to admit—that Churchmen form only a very minor element in the Liberal party, it is an element strong enough to command respect when issues of conscience are at stake. Among Liberal Churchmen both in the House and in the country there appears to be a general determination to watch this Bill with jealous scrutiny, and to insist that nothing shall be done either to interfere with the organic life of the Church or to impair her material resources without good cause shewn. There is among them, we imagine, speaking generally, a full acceptance of the principle of Welsh nationality, and a frank desire to get to the bottom of any real grievance there may be, and to find a substantial remedy; but there is no less frank a disgust with the kind of *ethos* which has produced the present measure, and an undisguised impatience with precarious appeals to ancient history as the excuse for the enactment of a modern penal law.

It would be a mistake to imagine that Liberal Churchmen, in adopting this decided attitude, have been seized with a sudden fit of compunction, and have taken it into their heads, all at once, to be intractable and unpleasant. Still more would it be a mistake to imagine that they are

unmindful of the many services of Wales to Liberalism. Their attitude has a traceable history, and is quite consistent. The history begins with the great General Election of January 1906. A marked feature of that election was the total disappearance of Welsh Disestablishment from the programme submitted to the country by the Liberal leaders. The election was fought and won on the great scheme of social reform outlined by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman at the Albert Hall. To carry out this scheme of Social Reform and to defeat, once for all, the alternative policy of Tariff Reform, the Premier appealed for a united and overwhelming Free Trade vote. To conciliate the Free Trade Unionist he gave a pledge that Home Rule should be excluded from the operations of the ensuing Parliament. To conciliate the Free Trade Churchman he gave the implicit pledge of silence as to any intention of the Government to deal with the question of the Welsh Church. That the omission of Welsh Disestablishment from the Liberal programme was deliberate, and part of a concerted plan, was evident from the fact that among the Prime Minister's colleagues in the Cabinet was Mr. Lloyd George, who, following his understood lead, had nothing to say about Welsh Disestablishment in his own election address. As to the fact of the omission we need desire no better witness than the late leader of the Welsh Parliamentary party, now Mr. McKenna's colleague at the Home Office, Mr. Ellis J. Griffith. On the day of the famous Manchester polls, which gave the signal for the Unionist *débâcle*, Mr. Griffith addressed his constituents in Anglesey. His speech, like so many illuminating Welsh speeches, was not reported in the English Press, and secured less public attention than it deserved. The Liberal Churchman who desires, in this business, to feel the ground sure beneath his feet, may like to have the material passages before him. They are as follows:

'The position of Welsh Disestablishment depends upon a private assurance given by the Prime Minister to Sir Alfred Thomas and Mr. Lloyd George, and upon the satisfaction which both have expressed with this assurance given to them. . . . It

must be remembered however, that it is not so much a question of the intention of the Liberal Government as one of whether the question is to be placed before the country in such a way at the present moment that an electoral victory for the Liberal party will give them a mandate to pass the Welsh Disestablishment Bill. This is the real issue, mandate or no mandate. It is fairly clear that, generally speaking, a mandate must depend, not upon private assurances, but upon public declarations; and it would have been far more satisfactory for the Welsh people if the subject of Welsh Disestablishment had taken its place amongst the other measures which the Liberal party and the Liberal leaders intend to pass into law in the coming Parliament. It is in this connexion that Welsh Liberals have scanned with care the election addresses and public speeches of the leaders in the Liberal Cabinet. It would be idle to conceal the fact that there has been much disappointment produced by this perusal. The subject has not once been mentioned in any address published or speech delivered by any prominent member of the Cabinet or even the Ministry. Even at Wrexham, when the Prime Minister delivered a speech especially to the Welsh people, although he specially mentioned a long list of proposed reforms dealing with labour questions and the better housing of the working classes, there was not even a hint of an intention to deal with the Established Church in Wales. Could not this omission be an argument of great force in the mouths of those who, later on, will make it their business to prove that the question was not before the country; and will they not have more force in their contention because that in his special appeal made in Wales to the Welsh people the Prime Minister did not once refer to the question which more than any other affects the Welsh people? It is not as if other measures were also omitted, because from time to time several distinct references are specifically promised, and the omission of Welsh Disestablishment from this list is a significant fact which must be taken into account. Can it be said in reply to the Conservative party, say two years hence, that the question of Welsh Disestablishment was before the country in such a form that it gave the Cabinet the right to say that judgement had been pronounced upon it, and that they have a right to deal with it? Of course I am not referring to Wales only. The question is always before the electorate in Wales; but Wales cannot give the mandate. The mandate must come from the

electors of Great Britain; and the question is whether they have had an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon the subject. It is not necessary to say that the House of Lords will do its best to throw out the bill for the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church. It is only now and during the next few days that we can take such steps as will make it impossible for them to say that the country has given no mandate. If the election takes place without the case being made absolutely clear, it will mean an uncertainty as to the position of Welsh Disestablishment; and I hold that the first available moment should be taken advantage of to place the matter beyond the region of controversy.' [1]

Not less significant than Mr. Griffith's speech was the somewhat caustic comment of the *Manchester Guardian*, the great organ of Liberal opinion in North Wales:

'Outside the immediate election business Mr. Ellis Griffith has raised afresh the question whether Welsh Disestablishment is or is not one of the issues before the electors of the whole country in this Election. It is a question of great interest to Welsh electors, but it must be allowed that the present is rather an inconvenient stage at which to raise it. Before the election began it might possibly have been pressed to an issue; but already some of the most important elections are decided. The matter, for good or ill, must now stand as it is until the Election is concluded.' [2]

Concluded it was, the issue being an overwhelming triumph for the Liberal Government. As the majority rose, so rose the chagrin of Mr. Griffith and his friends; for the strength of the Government appeared great enough to have overborne the opposition of the House of Lords, had it sought and obtained the necessary mandate. It was, of course, evident to observers that, mandate or no mandate, a vigorous effort would be made to force Disestablishment upon the Government programme; but probably not the most erudite student of Welsh politics was quite prepared for the way in which this was done. The General

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, Welsh edition, January 15, 1906. [2] *Ibid.*

Election had not been concluded a fortnight when the following report went the round of the Press and was received as an authoritative announcement of the first magnitude:

'Sir Alfred Thomas, the Chairman of the Welsh Parliamentary party, speaking at Abercynon, Pontypridd, last night, stated that a guarantee had been given by the Prime Minister that a Welsh Disestablishment measure would be brought forward not later than the third session of the new Parliament. In view of the gigantic Government majority, Sir Alfred discounted the effect of opposition by the House of Lords, Mr. Gladstone having carried Irish Disestablishment with a smaller majority.'[1]

Now at this period the movement for Disestablishment in Wales had been perfectly quiescent for ten years; it had been entirely smothered by the interest of the Boer War and the controversy about the Schools; it had disappeared from public discussion with a completeness impossible for any matter which is really felt as one of active grievance. It needed, therefore, a positive effort of political hypnotism to recall it to some semblance of vitality; and the immediate effect of the Prime Minister's pledge was to set on foot an agitation, with the object of strengthening the hands of the Government against the fateful third session. The enginery of the caucus was brought into play; old enthusiasms were kindled into life; old sophistries were conjured out of limbo; and for a year all hands were cheerfully engaged in the effort of refloating the stranded barque. The movement was based upon the Prime Minister's pledge, and had no other motive or inspiration.

Now immediately on the announcement of this pledge, the present writer was struck by its family likeness to much other of the material of Welsh politics; and, believing that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was an honest man and that the reported pledge had no existence, he took upon him at once to bring it to the Premier's notice. The expected

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, February 6, 1906.

reply came in due course. It is here published for the first time, and was as follows :

10 Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W.
'February 16, 1906.

'DEAR SIR,

'I am directed by the Prime Minister to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant, and to say that he understands from Sir Alfred Thomas that he did not use the words you quote from a newspaper report to the effect that a Welsh Disestablishment measure would be brought forward not later than the third session of the new Parliament.

'The mistake appears to have arisen from his speech being misreported.

'I am,
'Yours faithfully,
'V. NASH.'

How this feat of misreporting came to be executed we need not trouble to speculate. It is sufficient that the report was disavowed in private. One might have thought that common prudence would have led to its instantly being disavowed in public, and that by the party leader whose name it had usurped. We are not aware that this was done. Had it been done, politics in Wales could not have turned, as they did, for the whole succeeding year upon the unquestioning belief in the authenticity of the reported pledge. That Sir Alfred Thomas' colleagues were as fully aware as he that no such pledge existed is evident from the proceedings of the first sessional meeting of the Welsh Parliamentary party held at the House of Commons on February 14, two days before the date of the above letter. Instead of taking up the chorus of jubilation which the reported 'guarantee' for 'not later than the third session' had already evoked in Wales, they were fain to fall back upon an expression of their

'gratification at the communication made by the Prime Minister before the General Election to the Chairman of the Welsh Parliamentary party that Welsh Disestablishment remains an integral part of the legislative programme of the Liberal party,

and will be dealt with by the Government at the first favourable opportunity.' [1]

This refers to that 'private assurance' whose insufficiency Mr. Ellis Griffith had been at pains to brand. There was nothing more; and the Welsh members were perfectly aware of it. The agitation which was being fomented on the basis of the reported pledge, and which was kept going happily for a twelvemonth, presented numerous opportunities of candour. Those, however, who know the amiable and accommodating Welsh temperament will readily realize how thoroughly unwelcome such opportunities must have been amid the buoyant atmosphere which the Prime Minister's reported pledge had evoked. The longer the disclosure was delayed, the more difficult it became. For a whole year the iridescent political bubble was kept gaily afloat; and now one member and now another was called upon, in expectant caucus meetings, to contribute his puff of encouragement. A specimen of the language to which they had recourse is to be seen in some remarks addressed by Mr. Ellis Griffith to 'a conference of delegates from Liberal and Labour Associations and Free Church Councils' held at Cardiff as late as February 18, 1907. He said: 'The Welsh Disestablishment Bill of next year' —(*i.e.* the third session)—'would no doubt provide that the County Councils should have a great amount of tithe-rent charges to administer.' The certainty of the bill 'next year' is not, observe, asserted, but only assumed. It is all the difference between falsehood and diplomacy. It was, remarkably enough, at this very meeting that the bubble burst or, rather, was pricked rudely to extinction. Present with Mr. Ellis Griffith was the *enfant terrible* of the Welsh party, Mr. D. A. Thomas, M.P. for Merthyr, since famous as the leader of the South Wales coalowners. Mr. Thomas' contribution to the proceedings is thus recorded in the *Manchester Guardian*:

'Mr. D. A. Thomas, M.P., said they would never get any real, thorough-going progressive legislation until they had had their

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, February 15, 1906.

fight out with the House of Lords, and he hoped that would be as soon as possible. Personally he would like to see everything put aside for that fight. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had not made any definite promise that the question of Welsh Disestablishment would be dealt with in the third session of this Parliament, although there was an impression abroad that it was to be the main bill next year. It would be largely their fault in Wales if it were not so.

'On the motion of Mr. D. A. Thomas the Conference adopted a resolution calling upon the Government to place a Disestablishment Bill for Wales in such a position next year that it would pass through all stages before the close of the session.' [1]

Mr. Thomas' avowal produced an instant tumult in the Liberationist dovecotes. The above resolution, 'calling upon the Government' to do what had been hitherto understood to be its declared intention to do, was only the beginning. There are men in Wales—elderly men for the most part, of whom the Rev. Evan Jones, of Carnarvon, is the leader and type—to whom Disestablishment is not a convenience, but a Gospel. Their conduct, on finding out that their confident anticipations were in fact baseless, was altogether creditable. With no further stomach for equivocation, they took immediate steps to discover where they were. Wasting no time in mere recrimination, they occupied the early months of 1907 in organizing throughout Wales an insurrectionary movement, the object of which was to extract definite pledges from the Government or to denounce it and renounce it with all its works. The movement came to a head in a great Convention which met at Cardiff in October. The situation was so menacing as to call for the appearance of a *deus ex machina*. Mr. Lloyd George, against whom the whole outbreak was not obscurely directed and who was accused roundly of deserting his 'little country,' presented himself unexpectedly at Cardiff, succeeded, with his usual address, in withdrawing the sting from the insurgent resolutions, faced, with his usual courage, the stern and mutinous visage of the caucus, and managed, by a speech brimful of sincerity and magnetism, to rally the

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, February 19, 1907.

stampeding ranks. The Convention, assembled to curse, dissolved in blessings. But it had achieved its purpose. Mr. Lloyd George did not escape without giving, on behalf of the Government, something like a definite pledge of legislation in the fourth session. It was in fulfilment of this pledge that the Government, which had come into power and office on the mandate of 1906, introduced the Welsh Bill of 1909. It is evident that, if the principle of the mandate has any validity at all, both the Bill and the pledge to which it gave effect were equally *ultra vires*. They were brought about by the pressure of sectional agitation resting upon an unfounded report which was suffered to retain a mischievous authority. The Bill had no chance of passing. Had it been otherwise, the Government would have been met with sectional pressure from another quarter, insisting that they should adhere rigidly to the platform on which they had been returned to power. But, in the circumstances, the Bill was recognized as merely a necessary piece of window-dressing, and Liberal Churchmen were content to let it go at that.

Their position, however, was wholly altered in the critical elections of 1910, especially that of December, in which the vital issue was the Parliament Bill. There was never an occasion when Liberalism stood more in need of its convinced adherents. A defeat, or even a pyrrhic victory, upon the Parliament Bill would have been an irreparable disaster for the party and all that it stands for. We take it that if there is any section of the party in which conviction may be expected to be reasoned and active, it is among Liberal Churchmen. Having common foresight, they knew that in giving their vote for the Parliament Bill, they were hazarding the future of the Welsh Church. They had had a recent taste of what such hazard might mean, and had been not a little nauseated by it. Were they, in natural apprehension upon that score, to turn their backs upon Liberalism in the very crisis of its fortunes; or were they to stand firm, to put their weight behind the Government in their effort to redress the balance of the Constitution, and to rely upon the equity of their leaders

to ensure that if the Welsh Church question again emerged and claimed a settlement under the Parliament Act, it should be handled *de novo*, as a grave issue of religion and conscience, affecting England not less than Wales, and involving many of the things most precious in the national life? Few of them, we imagine, were minded to commit themselves to a mere revival of the Bill of 1909, or to have part or lot in any such enterprise. It was perhaps inevitable that the Government, even in the new circumstances, should initiate proceedings upon the old lines. It was none the less unfortunate; for by doing so they placed Churchmen, Liberal no less than Tory Churchmen, in an attitude of 'uncompromising opposition.' Of the nature and strength of that opposition, particularly among their own supporters, we have reason to believe that Ministers are even still but dimly aware. Mr. Asquith, it is true, is anxious to repair the truculence of his subordinates, and to seek some line of conciliation; but he does not appear to see that no bargaining, no readjustment of terms, will meet the objections which arise upon the very framework of the measure. We will try to state what these are.

In the first place, we Liberal Churchmen regard as an utter abomination the proposal, by statute, to deprive the representatives of Wales of their historic place in the Southern Convocation. It is to us a piece of gratuitous persecution, with not even a basis of false principle to condone it. It is totally unessential to the objects of the Bill. That Parliament, in the act of cashiering the Welsh Dioceses, should deny Welsh Churchmen 'the mutual society, help and comfort' which they might derive from association with their English brethren, seems to us a mere refinement of offence. There might be something to be said for it if Convocation were a live Legislature in active function; but the heirs of Eighteenth-century Whigdom know well that it is nothing of the kind. It is at present a mere deliberative assembly, an organ of opinion, an instrument of common counsel and action on matters with which law and lawyers have nothing to do. Its functions, even so, are valuable in themselves, and valuable

still more for what they represent. Welshmen desire to retain their share in them, if only 'for auld lang syne'; and if they are to be deprived of it by a Liberal Act of Parliament, then, like the stout Cornishmen of an elder day, 'we'll know the reason why.' It is this feature of the Bill which excites the most intense resentment. We resent it as Churchmen; but, naked in its Erastianism, we resent it ten times more as Liberals. Common-sense would strike out the clause; but, if express regulation is necessary, all that is necessary is to provide that on the rare occasions on which Convocation is acting in virtue of letters of business from the Crown, the representatives of the Welsh dioceses should absent themselves from critical divisions. Anything more than this is disruptive and destructive, and we will have none of it. Autonomy does not involve separatism; and any attempt, against the will of Welsh and English Churchmen, to constitute by Act of Parliament a separatist Church in Wales will be combated without quarter. This is a matter on which we may confidently appeal to the conscience of plain men. The Bill professes to be a measure of liberation. We submit that it is of the very essence of tyranny to insist upon liberating a man without any regard to what he himself may understand by freedom.

We pass to the 'disendowment' clauses. These, in effect, amount to persecution, but, unlike the former, it is not gratuitous. It follows necessarily upon the adoption of the principle that ecclesiastical endowments are 'national property.' We warn our fellow Churchmen that they are not dealing quite adequately with this argument about 'national property.' They are treating it as so much controversial vapour which they must labour sedulously to disperse. It is more than that. It is, or wants to be made, an act and deed. It is the basis of the Bill.[1] And because

[1] Since these words were written, the fact here pointed out has been expressly affirmed by Mr. McKenna. Replying, on Monday, July 8, to a deputation representing the Association for Improving the Status of the Unbeneficed Clergy, he said:

'He agreed that this was not a case for generosity but for right, one way or the other. They had to remember that they were not

it is the basis of the Bill, it becomes a matter of total indifference whether the sum affected is 1*s.* 5½*d.* or 6*s.* 8*d.*, or 19*s.* 11½*d.* When the Church affirms that she must meet these disendowment clauses with uncompromising opposition, what she means is that, whether the cost be little or much, she will have no truck with falsehood. And in that her sons who are members of the Liberal party are entirely with her. The falsehood is patent upon the face of the Bill. We can profess no respect for the disingenuous political mysticism which makes an *annus mirabilis* of the year 1662, and concocts a sort of witches' brew of all endowments prior to that date, to the accompaniment of incantations about 'national property.' The year 1662 marked no epoch in the dealings of the State with ecclesiastical endowments. If endowments existing before 1662 are 'national property,' endowments accruing after 1662 are equally 'national property.' It would not do to say so; because Methodist and Baptist and Congregationalist endowments would come immediately into question. What the Bill says, therefore, is that an endowment accruing subsequently to 1662 'shall, for the purposes of this Act, be deemed to be a private benefaction.' And our reply is that we have had more than enough, in recent legislative projects, of this same egregious locution. We have been made familiar with it in the luckless series of Education Bills. We are tired of being asked, 'for the purposes of this' or that Act, to 'deem' black white, and sea-green sky-blue, and to affect any degree of moral colour-blindness which it pleases our legislators to prescribe. We refuse

dealing with their own money. If they accepted the hypothesis upon which the Government had proceeded—that certain of these endowments were national property—they had no right on the ground of generosity to transfer national property from one class to another. If the claim was fair and legitimate the door would not be found closed to reasonable argument. On the other hand, they believed the hypothesis he had mentioned to be absolutely true, and concession for the sake of concession was not open to them if they were to administer these funds in accordance with what they believed to be the principles of justice and right.'—(*Manchester Guardian*, Welsh edition, July 9, 1912.)

to do this 'deeming.' To enjoin it upon us is to insult our intelligence, not to speak of our conscience—though we prefer to keep our conscience in the background. The Government, we are perfectly sure, has no wish to do anything of the sort. Then let them make up their mind as to what they mean to do. Putting aside the stuff about 'deeming,' and 1662 and kindred imbecilities, do they mean to commit the country to the legislative affirmation that ecclesiastical endowments are 'national property'? Is that to remain the basis of the Bill? If not, well and good; we will talk reason and listen to reason. But if so, then we can but bid them go forward and do their worst. In refusing to treat upon that basis, we are merely declining to forswear the truth for the sake of mitigating the threatened forfeiture. And the consequences will be what they will be.

Not many weeks ago, at a certain Diocesan Conference, a certain not obscure prelate declared that he had been greatly impressed by the weakness of the argument for Disendowment, and averred, modestly enough, that he never listened to it without feeling that he could produce a far better one himself. Let us see if we cannot produce this better one, if only as a step towards sane discussion.

First, we go back thirty years; for the proper *nidus* of this Welsh movement is the generation now defunct. We put ourselves in the position of a little Welsh occupier on a Merionethshire hillside, or of a small freeholder in Cardiganshire. He has hard work to make ends meet. As likely as not he has a son at College, and is starving himself to keep him there. He is a devout and faithful Nonconformist, and has to support his chapel, even perhaps by pinching himself. At the same time he has to find year by year, as an incident of the tenure of his land, a certain payment called tithe rent-charge. It goes to maintain a certain minister whose visits he may not welcome and whose church he does not attend. That, of course, is no reason for withholding tithe, as the law will tell him even if the parson is disestablished. For the law—perversely, as our friend will think—regards tithe as property: trust-property, but property. He himself will have been taught

to regard it as a 'tax,' though it has the singular quality, for a tax, of being irremovable. But whether it be or be not a fiscal fact, it is certainly an economic fact, and there is no getting away from it. But it is more than that, much more; and the Nonconformist Welshman—whose great-grandfather and his forbears, to the tenth and twentieth generation, were Churchmen—knows it. Tithe is the greatest moral fact which has any expression in terms of money. It is an ancient local trust fund, destined, in principle, to the highest spiritual uses of those who pay it. It has come about that our Nonconformist is debarred, by the free workings of his own conscience, from participating fully, or possibly even at all, in those uses. Yet he has to pay, as punctually as the Churchman on the other side of the hedge who enjoys these uses to the full. Every April and October the question will be fructifying in his mind: 'If I have to pay, why shouldn't the money go to worthy uses in which I can share?' None of it must go to the chapel; because it is as bad for chapels as for churches to depend on any 'tax.' But *cy près*, cleanliness is next to godliness; there are baths and washhouses. Or if the rates have taken up these institutions, still does not the Book say, 'With all thy getting get understanding': there are village Institutes, not to speak of Museums and Libraries and University Colleges. Why not? Now if, owing to circumstances good or bad, this frame of mind becomes widespread, a public question will obviously arise and will call for solution. As the men affected by it become schooled in the art of government, and energetic in its exercise, they will hammer out their own solution. If the atmosphere about them is not quite such as to help men to make the best of themselves and of their neighbours, their solution will tend to be rather crude and harsh, and to be maintained by arguments neither too exact nor scrupulous. And worst of all, the solution and its arguments, such as they are, will tend to become standardized and stereotyped, inscribed upon banners, upheld devotedly 'in scorn of circumstance,' in scorn even of the newer and better circumstance that the changing day may bring. The

solution before us is precisely of that character. In it Free Churchmen appeal to Caesar. They ask Caesar to adopt an ingenious date in the past; and, taking that date as a *terminus ad quem*, to confiscate to secular uses an ancient patrimony of God and God's people on the unlovely plea that it is properly Caesar's. And their Liberal brethren of the Church are constrained to warn them respectfully that this solution is worthy neither of themselves, their principles nor their cause. It has scant relation to their real grievance, and scant regard to equity in the treatment of it. It is shot through and through with what we, by whatever light we have upon history, must regard as falsehood. It offers us no possible basis of discussion; and, if carried at all, it must be carried by the strong hand. There is a better way. You plead, we would say, great services to Welsh religion, nor would we deny it for a moment. You claim to be recognized, with us, as standing in succession to these ancient endowments which were devoted from of old for the good of all, and which issue, from year to year, from the sweat and labour of all. You ask that some equitable portion of them should be diverted from uses in which only some can share to other uses in which all can share. Provided that these other uses be religious uses, we do not cavil at the claim. The Church does not live by bread alone; and if she is challenged, on 'considerations of high policy,' to undertake the re-endowment of her sees and chapters, and to liberate their present revenues for the promotion of divine learning in the University and the pensioning of aged ministers of the Gospel, she can meet that challenge, not indeed without difficulty, but at any rate without dishonour and without fear. It will not commit us to the affirmation of any falsehood; it may check, but it will not cripple, our work. We must oppose, on these same 'considerations of high policy,' any measure which would diminish the sum total of the revenues devoted to the maintenance of the parochial clergy, already, for the most part, overburdened and underpaid. These men have not offended; not at their door lie the mischances of the past. They are, many of them, your own uncles, cousins, brothers;

you know the lives they lead; you know the work they are doing for Wales; you know the spirit in which they are doing it, the spirit of honest patriotism and peace. In standing firmly by them and their successors, we are defending your honour as well as our own.

We would ask, Can Welsh Nonconformity see itself accepting such a proposal? And if so, can it see itself twenty years afterwards? Cannot our friends bring a little imagination to bear upon this issue? What is likely to be the moral effect, on Church and Nonconformity respectively, of inflicting upon the former financial pressure or distress? Do not our friends know that if there is to be a Welsh Bishoprics Re-endowment Fund, half the subscriptions will come from Nonconformists, and half the men will follow their subscriptions? Mendicancy for good causes is in Wales a fine art, and almost an exact science. Are any of the Nonconformist causes likely to be the more flourishing when Welsh Churchmen are going round with the hat for the love of David and Teilo and Deiniol and Kentigern? We desire for Welsh Nonconformity a happy euthanasia; but it has a great, though brief, history; and we have no wish that it should disappear by suicide. That is not the way at all. Let us get back to the Bill. Either it has a religious object or it has not. If it has not, then let Parliament throttle it out of hand. If it has, then let it be made the substance of the Bill. Why do Christian men demand the Bill? In order to make the old Church of Wales a free Church, and so a possible home for Free Churchmen. What Churchman, bond or free, need be contemptuous of such an ideal? The head of the liberationist phalanx is, and has always been, Methodism. Welsh Methodism was cradled in a passionate and heroic fidelity towards the Church. When, after three generations of consummate patience, it took up a position of dissidence, it did so, as it solemnly averred, on no doctrinal ground. The old deep spirit still survives beneath the surface-squall of politics. The good Methodist still speaks of the Old Mother, and, when off politics, has still a yearning for the old home. He wants this Bill or some Bill, in order to

make the old home more habitable. Then why begin by throwing out the furniture? Why build a sure house in three clauses, and then litter it with wreckage in the other thirty-two? Why achieve, and then laboriously make havoc of the achievement? Given always the religious object, Disestablishment, so far from 'necessitating' Disendowment, stultifies it. Surely the thing is plain.

There is one broader aspect of the question which might well give pause to Liberal statesmen. We are always told that the spirit of compromise is characteristic of the Church of England, her peculiar grace or her besetting sin. Surely there must be something serious in a situation which unites Churchmen, without distinction of school or party, in an attitude of 'no compromise.' Granting that there exist these 'considerations of high policy' to which Mr. Asquith appeals, surely the last men who should be deemed incapable of weighing them are the prelates and influential laymen of the Church. No such considerations have been laid before them: what has been laid before them is a monstrous project whose very basis is an incitement to *non possumus*. The mischief comes of the attempt to legislate for the Church without the decencies of reference to the Church herself. We do not mean the Church of England; but the Church affected, the Church of the Southern Province of England—and Wales. After all, these Welsh Dioceses, just now at any rate, are part of the Constitution. They have their place and weight in a constitutional assembly, summoned, coincidently with Parliament itself, by ancient writ. Their place in Convocation may be worth much or little; but, whatever it is worth, it counts for liberty. Why should Parliament, in the act of 'liberating' the Welsh Church, ignore and override the liberty she possesses? Why should her voice count for nothing in a matter which affects her so profoundly? The only proper procedure in such a business is through joint action in Parliament and Convocation. If the Church refuses to lend a hand, *cadit quaestio*: so far, she has not had the chance of refusing. To offer her the chance means to jettison the Bill, all but the bulk of

three clauses. Why not, if the issue is a better Bill? The Bill, as it stands before Parliament, is done with anyhow. Has the battle for it gone so well as to make it expedient to prolong the trial of battle?

Some of our readers who know Staffordshire may have heard, in crossing a factory yard, the musical crash of falling pottery as it descends from the upper levels upon the rubbish-carts below. Down they come, multitudinous things of use and beauty, all valueless, flawed in the firing. Things of labour and cost, it is cheaper to consign them to the refuse-heap than to send them out into the world bearing the name of the firm. So it is with this Welsh scheme. It has suffered in the furnace. The furnace was banked in old days already half forgotten, and better wholly forgotten. Its fires were fed with murky fuel, the best there was to hand. Its product, anyhow, looks rude to-day. The age demands, in these grave matters of religion, some better skill, some surer artistry. It looks to see our kilns glowing with 'the comfort, life and fire of love,' and turning out some true works of the Spirit. As for this old project, let it lie among the sherds of history.

ARTHUR OGLE.

SHORT NOTICES.

I.—Biblical and Kindred Studies.

Ancient Assyria. By C. H. W. Johns, Litt.D., Master of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge. 'Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature.' (Cambridge University Press. 1912.) 1s. net.

This little volume affords abundant evidence of that wide erudition, patient industry, judicial caution, clarity of thought, and mastery of a mass of confusing historical details, which most workers in the same field have long since learned to associate with the name of Dr. Johns. In days when, as at present, public admiration is more and more devoted to such matters as the triumphs of wireless electricity and the conquest

of the air, a book like this may be welcomed as a seasonable reminder that the human spirit demands other sustenance than can be supplied by any novelties in the improvement of mechanical appliances or any fresh yoking of the forces of Nature to the car of material convenience and commercial utility. To some minds, indeed, it may well seem that the recovery and decipherment of the long-lost archives of ancient Assyria, which has already done so much to revolutionize current conceptions of the literature of the Old Testament—and the ultimate influence of which upon Biblical interpretation cannot as yet be estimated or even conjectured—constitutes as great a triumph of human intelligence as anything recorded in the recent progress of scientific invention.

Within the narrow limits of what is truly called a 'handbook' Dr. Johns has compressed and condensed nearly all that is at present known of the history of Assyria, from the obscure period of the earliest builders of Asshur and its temple to the destruction of Nineveh by Nabopolassar or his Scythian allies. Based, as it is, upon the first-hand evidence of contemporary cuneiform documents, such as the official annals of the several monarchs who left these and other monuments of their exploits, and not neglecting such extraneous aid as is afforded by careful comparison of the Hebrew, Hellenic, and other traditions, this manual can hardly fail to prove itself highly serviceable, alike to educated readers who may wish to acquire an adequate conception of the general course of Assyrian history and to scholars who know the value of an accurate synopsis or epitome as a help to memory, and for the purpose of easy reference when engaged in similar or related studies.

Our available space hardly admits of copious extracts; but the following passage may be cited as giving a very clear expression of the author's general standpoint.

'From the Biblical notices, even when supplemented by the other writers of antiquity, we should acquire a very limited and one-sided view of this really great people. We could never estimate its real significance in the struggle of the nations, nor duly appreciate the influence it exerted far beyond the limits of its empire. For, in Egypt, in Cappadocia and Cilicia, in Media and Old Persia, in Elam and Armenia, its kings fought and conquered, imposed not only tribute but customs, left monuments and colonists whose influence extended far beyond garrison duties and threats of vengeance on rebellion. Its history has lessons even for our own day, pointedly illustrating the futility of military success without commercial and economic stability. That history we must learn

from Assyria's own monuments, not ignoring the other sources of information, but interpreting its achievements in the light of their avowed purpose and as the expression of the national character and genius.'

We must not omit to add that the book contains some excellent photographic illustrations and a handy map of the Assyrian empire, as well as a brief bibliography of the latest material and a fairly complete index.

Exodus. By the Rev. S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 'Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.' (Cambridge University Press. 1911.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE Book of Exodus may be broadly divided into two parts, the code and narratives of J E, and the legislation of P; the former being contained in Chapters i–xxiv, xxxii–xxxiv, and the latter in Chapters xxv–xxxi, xxxv–xl. As the latter is not usually treated in detail in a school syllabus, the teacher is mainly concerned with expounding the J E portion; but, whichever it may be, Dr. Driver's commentary should prove quite invaluable.

The Introduction gives the general setting and includes sections on the sources and literary structure of the book, its historical and religious character, and the history of Egypt during the Israelites' sojourn in it. The last two are full of vivid and interesting historical and geographical details, which throw much new light on the Old Testament narrative. It is good to read on pages 44, 45, Dr. Driver's opinion as to the historicity of Exodus, and to find that he believes that the narratives of J and E 'cannot be mere fictions . . . cannot but embody substantial elements of fact.' Many teachers find it difficult to deal satisfactorily with such points as the Plagues, the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, the crossing of the Red Sea, the Theophany on Sinai, the Ephod, Urim and Thummim, and the Tabernacle. Most of these are touched upon in the Introduction, and dealt with fully in the commentary on the text, which has many additional notes of great interest.

The appendices on the Passover, the date of the Decalogue, the Code of Hammurabi, and the historical character of the Tent of Meeting as described by P, should be carefully studied. No teacher can afford to ignore such opportunities as are given by them and by the Introduction of increasing and deepening

a general knowledge of the Old Testament. The maps and illustrations which the book contains form another attractive feature, and, like others of the newer Cambridge Bible volumes, the text is in the Revised Version.

Numbers. By the Rev. A. H. McNeile, D.D., Fellow and Dean of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. 'Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.' (Cambridge University Press. 1911.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

In addition to excellent notes on the text, which is in the Revised Version, Dr. McNeile's commentary contains an Introduction of six chapters, three of which are particularly interesting and inspiring, namely those on the Levites, the historical value of the Book, and its religious value. Teachers will also welcome the very clear map placed at the end of the book, and illustrating the probable route of the Israelites to Sinai. The commentary will be a valuable addition to any school library.

The Book of Ruth. A Literal Translation from the Hebrew, with full Grammatical Notes and Vocabularies. By R. H. J. Steuart, S.J. (London: David Nutt. 1912.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

Fr. Steuart's translation could not well be more exactly literal than it is: 'Whether-therefore you-will-be-shut-up in-that-not to-be-for-man,' . . . 'And-thou-shalt-drink from what have-drawn the-menservants,' . . . or 'Who-she good to-thee from-seven sons,' and so on. But is not this sort of version out-of-date educationally? Surely it represents a stage in which a good teacher, such as we take Fr. Steuart to be, would be sorry to see his pupils stay for a moment longer than is necessary. And it would be better for them not to get into it.

The Notes contain much that is of philological interest, and the Latin analogies are useful. Some points on which many Hebrew instructors lay stress at the very outset are ignored, but Fr. Steuart defends such omissions, assuming that 'the reader will have access to a good grammar.' It is a pity, however, that some of the notes are not only thus somewhat defective, but are occasionally likely to prove seriously misleading to beginners. On p. 13, l. 11, for example, a regular imperfect is described as an 'archaic form,' whereas it is merely an imperfect in the *Kᵉthîbh* pointed as a jussive in the *Qᵉrî*. On p. 32, l. 6 *seq.*, the explanation of the *seghol* cannot be supported by any 'good grammar.' On

p. 37, l. 3, the infinitive is not absolute but construct. On p. 39, l. 16, a verb is parsed as feminine and imperfect, when it is masculine and perfect! On p. 44, l. 2, the 'Pathah' is due not to the guttural but the article. On p. 47, l. 15, a verb which is regularly pointed is said to have an Aramaism; a regular form is given, but to use it with 'waw consecutive,' as here, would be quite irregular. On p. 64, l. 15 *seq.*, it appears to be unknown that the form noticed is a regular pausal form for the singular masculine suffix. On p. 87, l. 1 *seq.*, occurs a note as to a third masculine plural verb, with a feminine subject, although the perfect has only one form (common to both genders) for the third plural! There are numerous trifling misprints in the Hebrew words. If the author would subject his book to a drastic revision, and—we would venture to add—if he modelled it on such a book as Mr. Spurrell's *Genesis*, his work would win its way.

Jeremiah and Lamentations. Introduction, Revised Version with Notes, Map, and Index. By A. S. Peake, D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester. 'Century Bible' Series. (Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack.) Two volumes. 2*s.* 6*d.* each net.

A good Commentary on Jeremiah has long been needed by students who cannot avail themselves of present-day German literature; and Dr. Peake's amply meets the need. His scholarship is sound, his judgement ripe. But this new work displays something else—something particularly helpful in studying Jeremiah—the gift of sympathy and insight. This we must attribute less to the writer's acquired skill or accumulated knowledge than to that 'hero-worship' to which he is 'happy to plead guilty.'

The short work on Lamentations, too, is excellent. The two volumes are a valuable addition to the deservedly popular series in which they appear.

The Golden Latin Gospels in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan. Now edited for the first time with critical Introduction and Notes, and accompanied by four full-page facsimiles. By H. C. Hoskier. (New York: Privately printed. 1910.)

For this superb quarto volume we have to thank the munificence of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, and the ungrudging labour of Mr. H. C. Hoskier: the former has been unsparing of his money, the latter

of his time and learning. In outward appearance the book recalls those magnificent editions of the Old Latin codices which Tischendorf produced years ago; yet in print, paper, and binding it outshines them; it is one of the most beautifully printed books we have ever seen, and a very triumph for the American press.

When we examine its contents we find much to admire and a good deal to criticize in Mr. Hoskier's work. To begin with, his book is not really an edition of the MS.; it is a dissertation on its text, with elaborate collations of its readings with those of the other Old Latin texts. This is itself unfortunate, for it leaves us without that knowledge which only a complete reproduction of the text can give; no doubt Mr. Hoskier has given us all the readings which he considers important, but in textual criticism new problems are constantly springing up, and we cannot tell at any moment what may prove of value. It sounds almost cruel to say so, but a printed text of the MS., line for line, with punctuation, capital letters, etc., accurately copied, might have been more valuable than the collations on which Mr. Hoskier has lavished so much trouble and ingenuity.

The 'Morgan Gospels,' or 'Hamilton Gospels' as they used to be called, form a splendid specimen of caligraphy; they are written on purple vellum in letters of gold, and belong to the Eighth, or even to the Seventh century. Berger supposed them to have come from the Palatine school or the north of France, but Mr. Hoskier, after a minute examination, makes out a good case for an English origin. Whether he will persuade many scholars to believe that no less than twenty scribes have been at work on the MS. is another matter; it is possible, though only possible, that such a large number might be employed on one single book of Gospels; but we should have thought it far more likely that single scribes would vary their modes of writing. Even more interesting, however, than the palaeography is the type of text preserved in the MS.; like many early copies of the Vulgate, it has preserved a number of readings which have crept back from the Old Latin texts, and an examination of these leads Mr. Hoskier into one of the most exhaustive disquisitions on the Old Latin version that we have yet read. It is here that his strength and his weakness lie: his strength, in the thoroughness with which he has made his collations, and the acuteness with which he detects any significant features in this or that MS. or group; his weakness, in the absence of clear method and plan in his work, or of a broad theory, intelligibly stated for the ordinary reader. We gain very valuable information on a number of single points, but we find

it difficult to understand what general conclusions he is establishing or to assent to them when we do understand. For this is our second criticism of Mr. Hoskier—his book is badly arranged, or rather not arranged at all: it is a series of detached notes, with inferences and conclusions thrown off here and there. So far as we can follow him, he would explain textual variation in the Latin and Greek MSS. of the New Testament by a complicated theory of bilingual, trilingual, and even quadrilingual texts. For instance, the Old Latin MS. *a* was copied from a Graeco-Latin MS., and an ancestor of JP (=Hamilton Gospels) was an earlier member of the same group; JP is also connected with ff_2, and both are involved with a Graeco-Coptic MS.; *k*, again, has a Syriac base, while ℵ was copied from a Graeco-Latin or a Graeco-Syro-Latin, or possibly even a Graeco-Syro-Coptic-Latin exemplar! To state such a theory is to condemn it; we do not believe that such tremendous things existed, or that there was all this reaction of the versions back on the original Greek text; time after time when Mr. Hoskier asserts that readings in ℵ have come from the Syriac, or Coptic, or Latin, we feel that it is simpler to explain things the other way round.

Still, though we disagree with his conclusions, we must be grateful to him for the data he has amassed; his collations will be of the greatest value to students of the Old Latin version; and both he and Professor Souter, of Aberdeen, have added to our knowledge by demonstrating independently that Jerome himself, when citing the Gospels in his earlier Epistles, used a text of the *a* type.

Les Manuscrits Latins du V^e au XIII^e Siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale de Saint Pétersbourg. Par Dom Antonio Staerk, O.S.B. Deux tomes. (St. Pétersbourg. 1910.) 50 *roubles* (=135 *fr.*, 110 *m.*)

St. Petersburgh is not exactly the place in which we should expect to find Latin manuscripts; but, as these sumptuous volumes shew, it possesses a collection of which any Western Library might be proud. The greater part of its wealth has come from two private libraries, those of the Counts Zaluski and Peter Dubrovski. The Zaluski MSS. were transferred to St. Petersburg in 1795, after the capture of Warsaw; the collection of Peter Dubrovski was acquired by the Russian Government ten years later. Dubrovski was Secretary to the Russian Embassy at Paris during the troublous times of the Revolution, and he

managed to secure a number of MSS. belonging to the Monastic Library of St. Germain des Prés. That magnificent library had been enriched in 1638 by some four hundred MSS. from the famous Abbey of Corbie on the Somme, and in 1716 by the MSS. from the Abbey of St. Maur-les-Fossés. During the Revolution the Abbey of St. Germain was turned into a saltpetre factory and ultimately was burnt down ; fortunately the MSS. had been previously removed either to the Bibliothèque Nationale or to St. Petersburg. Thus it happens that it is to the latter capital that we must often turn for *codices Sangermanenses*, *codices Corbeienses*, *codices Fossatenses*, for service books and calendars connected with French cathedrals, for lives of French saints, for commentaries by the Venerable Bede, and for beautiful specimens of Irish caligraphy.

Dom Antonio Staerk, a Benedictine belonging to the Abbey of Buckfastleigh in Devon, has consecrated seven years of incessant labour to the task of describing these magnificent monuments of Western scholarship and art, and publishing photographic facsimiles of their pages. He has produced a book which for beauty of execution we have rarely seen equalled, and he has earned the gratitude of all students of Latin palaeography ; there is hardly any style of writing, from the Fifth to the Thirteenth century, of which we do not find admirable specimens here, though naturally the collection is strongest in French MSS., both Merovingian and Caroline. Dom Staerk has not only described the MSS., but has in many cases transcribed large portions of their contents, so that we are enriched by valuable theological and liturgical treatises now published *in extenso* for the first time ; the famous Corbie Old Latin MS. of St. James has certainly been edited more than once, but it is a comfort to possess it here again in a very careful reproduction.

If we have any criticisms to make upon Dom Staerk's work they must not be on its general conception and execution, but upon certain defects in detail and arrangement. The descriptions of the MSS. are, as a rule, too brief ; just their size, contents, and probable dates are given, with references to Montfaucon, Delisle, or other authorities who have written about them ; but rarely is anything said as to their provenance, history, or (in the case of Biblical MSS.) their type of text. It was inevitable, we suppose, that almost all the facsimiles should be on a reduced scale, but it makes some of them very hard to read. More serious is the inconvenience caused by the arrangement. The first volume contains the introduction, descriptions, transcriptions, etc.,

with a number of plates inserted between them; the second contains only plates; all these are numbered separately, with the result that when we set out to identify a manuscript from the description we soon find ourselves in a maze; *e.g.* on p. 8 of the first volume, description IX gives us an account of a Gospel MS.; we turn to Plate IX in the same volume and find something perfectly different; we try Plate IX in the second volume with no better result; then after much consulting of indices we finally discover that the photograph of the MS. is numbered X in Volume II. A good series of cross-references would have made the book more practicable; still better would it have been if the editor had printed his descriptions, etc., on separate pages and arranged them so as to face the facsimiles in each case.

II.—Philosophy of Religion.

The Religion of the Ancient Celts. By F. A. MacCulloch, Hon. D.D., etc. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1911.) 10s. net.

In 1905 Dr. MacCulloch published a very interesting work called *The Childhood of Fiction: a Study of Folk-tales and Primitive Thought*, in which he analyzed a large number of recorded folk-tales and grouped them according to their *leit-motif* and underlying ideas, and also shewed how in the longer tales two or more of these themes are combined together in various proportions. In the present work he has attempted a more ambitious task, to give a connected account of the religion of the Ancient Celts in their different branches. To the greater difficulty of the task is largely due the fact that Dr. MacCulloch has not, in our view, attained so large a measure of success in this as in his earlier work. This greater difficulty is due to the extreme fragmentariness of the evidence, especially in the case of the ancient Gauls, and in the case of the *Brythons* to its lateness. The Goidelic evidence is much earlier than the latter, and much more abundant than either, but still far from complete. Hence the work of reconstruction is extremely hypothetical, as is shewn by the recurrence of what Sir John Rhŷs once called 'those hard-worked words possibly, probably, and perhaps.' Dr. MacCulloch in his Preface professes himself a disciple of the anthropological schools; the book is dedicated to Mr. Andrew Lang, and the author is evidently an ardent disciple of Dr. Frazer. Indeed, we must confess that we get a little wearied with the constant

recurrence of the corn-spirit, the earth-spirit, gods of growth, divinities of fertility and vegetation, and the like. They are all very well in their place, but in Dr. MacCulloch's pages they seem to us, as the Cornish juror said of the doctors, to be 'getting too frolicsome.' An extreme instance is to be found on p. 213: 'A cult of the stag seems to have given place to that of a god with stag's horns . . . probably connected with the under-world. The stag, as a grain-eater, may have been regarded as an embodiment of the corn-spirit, and then associated with the under-earth region whence the corn sprang.' Really it is hard to see where the corn-spirit might not, on these principles, be brought in. Now it is one thing to criticize the excesses of the mythological school, as Dr. MacCulloch sometimes does quite justly; it is another thing to try to exclude that element altogether from the interpretation of primitive religion. For instance, in the famous Irish Cúchulainn cycle it seems to the present writer obvious that there is a strong mythological element of a solar character. Dr. MacCulloch does not really disprove this by shewing that this explanation does not fit all parts of the story, and that the attempt to make it do so leads to much forced results (p. 133). No doubt it does, for these stories are essentially composite; in their passage down the ages they have gathered up many elements—folk-tales, anthropology, historical personages, Christian theology. Sir John Rhŷs in his *Arthurian Legend* criticized the late laureate's *Idylls of the King* as 'mythologically incorrect'; but Tennyson was writing a poem, not a treatise on mythology, and in the same way the tellers and writers of these stories were not trying to preserve a consistent myth for the information of future researchers, but to compose out of the elements at their disposal a tale that would interest their hearers or readers. Nor does Dr. MacCulloch necessarily disprove the mythological interpretation by shewing that certain elements which have been interpreted in that way occur as folk-tale motives. Is he prepared to say that no folk-tales can have a mythological origin? (p. 83). Many keys go to the unlocking of that curious casket, the primitive mind; it is a pity to throw away any key, merely because it will not open everything.

In other ways also, Dr. MacCulloch seems to us to appreciate insufficiently the strength of the theories which he criticizes. An instance of this may be found in his treatment of M. Bertrand's very interesting theory of the existence of druidic monasteries as he calls them, or, as we would rather call them, colleges,

This view derives support from Ammianus' description of the Druids as 'sodaliciis adstricti consortiis'—a passage which Dr. MacCulloch treats much too cavalierly—and also from a passage in the life of St. Gerald of Mayo. Dr. MacCulloch thinks that he has refuted the theory by pointing out that there are instances of married Druids. He might have gone further. We can shew that in some cases, at least, the office was hereditary. But is the existence of mediaeval monasticism disproved, because we can point to many instances of married and even of hereditary priests? Moreover, if there is any basis for Caesar's statement that the Druid underwent a novitiate of twenty years, there would be ample room for corporate life within that period. It is not necessary to the theory to assume that all Druids were bound by life-long vows of celibacy.

Dr. MacCulloch has brought together a great quantity of interesting matter, and a large number of very useful references. It is a pity that he is so often content to cite secondary authorities, where he might have given references to the original texts. Perhaps this is due to a certain weakness in the handling of Irish, of which instances may be found on pp. 81, 136. The strongest instance is on p. 248, where the druidic mode of divination (by magically induced dreams), known as *imbas forosnai*, is explained as 'illumination between the hands,' as if from Irish *bass* or *boss*, a hand. But apart from the grammatical objection that this would require 'bais,' *imbas* is a substantive compounded of the preposition *imb*, and *fis*, knowledge, and means special knowledge, inspiration, the whole phrase signifying 'inspiration which enlightens.' Nor is Dr. MacCulloch's Latin quite impeccable: *piscus* for *piscis* (p. 185), and *formulae* for *formula* (p. 359), we may charitably assume to be misprints; but we doubt whether the same explanation applies to *Allobrogi* for *Allobroges* (p. 24), or to *matres campestrae* for *campestres* (p. 45).

But in spite of some drawbacks Dr. MacCulloch has written a very interesting book, from which the reader may learn much, if he will bring a certain amount of criticism to its study.

From Religion to Philosophy: a Study in the Origins of Western Speculation. By F. M. Cornford, Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge. (London: Edward Arnold. 1912.) 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

It is possible, Mr. Cornford tells us in the first paragraph of his preface, to think of Religion and Philosophy 'as two successive

phases, or modes, of the expression of man's feelings and beliefs about the world; and the title of this book implies that our attention will be fixed on that period in the history of the Western mind, which marks the passage from the one to the other. It is generally agreed that the decisive step was taken by the Greeks about six centuries before our era.'

From this it would seem to follow that, if Religion and Philosophy are 'two successive phases,' and if 'the passage from the one to the other' took place about six centuries before our era, then substantially there was no Philosophy before 600 B.C., and substantially there has been no Religion since that date. But, though Mr. Cornford informs us that 'it is generally agreed' that this 'decisive step' from no Philosophy to no Religion was taken, in the Sixth century B.C., by the Greeks, we need hardly say that there is no such general agreement. Not only was there religion in Greece after the Sixth century; but Mr. Cornford himself, if we understand him, holds that there was philosophical speculation long before that date. However, whether Mr. Cornford does or does not hold this, the title of the book, he tells us, implies that his attention is going to be fixed on the period about six centuries before our era, when the decisive step was taken. But, as the sub-title of his book is 'a Study in the Origins of Western Speculation,' it would seem that the origins of Western speculation are to be found in the period about six centuries before our era, and that Mr. Cornford is going to fix his attention and ours on that period. But, as a matter of fact, for half the book, the first half, Mr. Cornford's attention is not fixed on the period about six centuries before our era, but wanders about from Homer and Hesiod to totemism and collective representations and herd-suggestion and sympathetic magic and polydaemonism in China, and impersonal daemons, and the king as arch-magician, etc. If 'the origins of Western speculation' are to be found in the Greek philosophers of the Sixth century B.C., then Mr. Cornford's ill-digested information about totemism, herd-suggestion, collective representations, etc., is quite irrelevant. If, on the other hand, we are to suppose it relevant, what does Mr. Cornford imagine he means by saying that 'our attention will be fixed' on the Sixth century B.C.? When a writer says, as Mr. Cornford says, 'it must be clearly stated that we do not mean either to assert, or to assume, that totemism, in any complete form, ever prevailed among the ancestors of the Greeks,' what light can he hope to throw on Greek philosophical speculation by dragging in totem-

ism? If Mr. Cornford's divagations into totemism, herd-suggestion and collective representations had any value in themselves, they would throw no light on Greek philosophy of the Sixth century. But, as Mr. Cornford himself knows and says, these divagations are a 'rash excursion' into 'the misty ocean of hypothesis.' Misty indeed are Mr. Cornford's hypotheses: he does not seem to us even to begin to understand the nature of collective representations. Mistiness is the atmosphere which prevails throughout the book. It befogs Mr. Cornford from beginning to end. He does not even know on what period his attention has been fixed. So dense is the fog in which he moves that, though he is apparently under the impression that his direction is 'from Religion to Philosophy,' he does not know whether he is starting from the Greeks of the Sixth century or from some dim and distant ancestors of theirs, amongst whom herd-suggestion and totemism, in some incomplete form, prevailed. As he does not know where or what he is starting from—whether from the religion of the Greeks of the Sixth century, or from the magic and totemism which he supposes to have preceded religion in the beginning of things—it is not astonishing if the reader is puzzled to know where Mr. Cornford thinks he has got to at the end of his book. Mr. Cornford presumably thinks he has attained to philosophy. Philosophers, however, may have their doubts on that point.

The Reason of Life. By William Porcher DuBose, S.T.D. (Longmans, Green, and Co. 1911.) 5*s.* net.

It would be difficult to overestimate the value of this book. It is not in any way controversial: its teaching is positive and constructive from first to last. And yet it is written in full view of some of the chief difficulties which Christianity has to encounter in the minds of religious men to-day, and provides us with the greatest help in dealing with them. Dr. DuBose is not an easy writer; clearly as he thinks, he fails to express and to arrange his thoughts with a corresponding clearness; but the labour required for fully understanding him is more than adequately rewarded by the help which he is able to give.

The main subject of the book is the immanence and transcendence of God in relation to the world and to human life. Jesus Christ—God's Incarnate Reason and Love—is the true Reason, the fullest explanation of life's meaning and purpose which we are able to receive. In explaining man, He explains

the universe, so far as it has significance for us ; and in explaining both these, He reveals all that God can tell us of Himself. Dr. DuBose points out that 'to say that our universe . . . was not made, but grew, is in itself to say that it was the product and not the cause of life,' and life is revealed in Christ to be one thing with love. But then this true meaning of the world can never be manifested without our co-operation with God, and this involves God's transcendent as well as His immanent activity. 'God in things is, so far as they are concerned, purely immanent : He is simply the principle and law of their being or action.' But in free self-conscious personalities, God cannot possibly be merely immanent. 'His being is without us, an objective fact to us : His laws are without us, to be known or not, to be reverenced or not, to be obeyed or not.' Transcendence, and true personal action, are, in fact, inseparable. 'A Person cannot give Himself, as such, immanently, but only transcendently.' In free self-conscious beings God can only realize Himself—and to say this is to say that Reason and Love can only realize themselves—in so far as we are willing that they should do so. And from this follows the view which Dr. DuBose takes of the Divine Incarnation both in our Lord and in mankind as a whole. He regards, indeed, the essential Deity of our Lord as absolutely necessary to the full truth and purpose of the Incarnation, but he lays stress not so much upon the Incarnation as a momentary act accomplished in Mary's womb, as upon the fuller and more complete Incarnation accomplished by our Lord's lifelong renunciation of sin and self-surrender to God.

'The Son of God became man, and the man that He became and was, just as truly and completely by human act and process, incarnated the Divine Word of God in His humanity, as the Divine and Eternal Word incarnated Himself in Him. As the Deity in Him became human, so the humanity in Him became Divine, and God and man in His Person were one.'

And the same human act and process are necessary for our own union with God. Dr. DuBose, indeed, holds strongly by the Pauline doctrine of Justification by Faith. 'If we in good faith repudiate and disown the self in us for the Christ in us, God sees only the Christ and not the self that is still in us.' But we are not for a moment to rest in this. 'God will not be in us, or in the Church, or in the world, any more or otherwise than as we in the world will be in Him.' 'He gives us light and life only through our own seeing the light and living the life.' And this leads us on to a new view of

God's method of realizing His purpose in the material world and in human society. When once man has come upon the scene, God no longer acts in the world in a merely immanent way; He realizes His purpose through our willing co-operation with Him. 'We are here, not to conform or correspond with the world as it is, but to be perpetually reforming and making a new world out of it.' 'It ought to be only, and all, that which we can make it: and we can make it all that it ought to be.' Dr. DuBose does not, as Mr. Lucas does in 'The Faith of a Christian,' lay stress upon the help which this thought gives us in relation to the difficulty for the mind created by the pain and sin of the world, great as that help surely is; his point is, rather, that it is only through our redemptive co-operation with God, that the Divine life of love can be realized in ourselves. God desires our service for our own sake, as well as for the world.

If we have any criticism to offer of this admirable book, it is, first, that Dr. DuBose, like Hermann in his *Communion with God*, fails to give to the life of prayer its rightful place, and, secondly, that he does not take sufficient account of what God has done, and must still do, for the realization of His purpose, quite apart from our co-operation with Him. Certainly, we are to love God in our neighbour, and, so far as we can, make heaven out of earth; but we must also love God in Himself, and pray for Him to do for us much that we cannot do, even by the most willing co-operation. If God is a transcendent personality, we can and we must love Him and pray to Him as such, and, unless we do so, our active co-operation is not likely to go very far. No doubt, ideally, we are all free to incarnate God and co-operate with Him in action which is both His and ours; but, in fact, we are not at first so free as this, and we need the life of devotion in the narrower sense of the word, if we are really to attain this freedom. And, secondly, so far as we can see, it is not at all true that 'all miracle wrought in this human world of ours, otherwise than through and by ourselves, is at the cost and expense of ourselves,' or that 'the earth and the present . . . furnish all the material and the means out of which, and by which, our future and our heaven are made.' The New Testament, we think, makes far more than Dr. DuBose makes of the Incarnation and Atonement as great acts of God worked by Him for us, and contains a great deal of eschatological teaching for which Dr. DuBose seems to leave no place. The best modern criticism of the Gospels will not allow us to think that the 'God and heaven of our Lord and His Apostles are mostly in the world, and not out of it'; the

contrary, we think, is true. The fact seems to be that Dr. Du Bose, like some of those against whose one-sided teaching about Divine immanence he so well guards us, does not take sufficient account of sin, and the havoc it has wrought, and is unduly optimistic about the power and the goodwill of men. Our Lord, we think, looked on the world with different eyes.

Studies in Religion and Theology. The Church: in Idea and in History. By A. M. FAIRBAIRN, D.D., Principal of Mansfield College. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1910.) 12*s.* net.

The Christian Certainty and the Modern Perplexity. By A. E. GARVIE, D.D., Principal of New College, London. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1910.) 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

DR. FAIRBAIRN'S last collection of theological papers carries us back at least a quarter of a century. Many of the essays were obviously written in an atmosphere of religious and scientific thought which is already in process of disappearing. The Anglicanism, which is rarely absent from the mind of the late Principal of Mansfield, is that of Dr. Liddon's famous sermon on the consecration of Bishop King. The scientific temper, against which he directs his searching criticism, is that which is exhibited in Herbert Spencer's *First Principles*. In spite of the divisive political issues, which have of late ruffled the surface of the sectarian waters, there can be little question that the deeper tendencies of theological thought are setting towards, rather than against, unity. And the opposition between Religion and Science, which was a marked feature of the days in which Dr. Fairbairn began his religious thinking, has given way before the reconciling effect of Vitalism and kindred philosophies. These facts combine to invest his work with the unpleasing aspect of the controversialist, whether in the field of Christian Apologetic or the arena of denominational defence. He is always the courteous foe rather than the sympathetic peace-maker. Disestablishment, for example, is not, in Dr. Fairbairn's view, to remove the hindrance to interdenominational peace, but, on the contrary, will only clear the issue, and set the evangelical free churches face to face with the claims of sacerdotalism. There is always too much of clear-cut distinction in his habits of thought. Thus there are two forms of Christianity, the theological and the institutional. In one case the society springs out of the theology, and is its handmaid, in the other the society gives

birth to the theology, and is its master. The former represents evangelical freedom and its flower is Independency, the latter represents priestly bondage and its embodiment is Catholicism, Anglican and Roman. An antithesis is at once created, by exaggerating the elements that are severally admired and disliked on the one side and on the other. This is the quality that makes the good champion of a party, rather than the patient searcher for truth. And that we may say, without the imputation of anything unworthy, Dr. Fairbairn never ceased to be.

The second part of the book shews the writer at his best. These chapters are admirably suited to afford an insight into his method and influence. They are, to borrow a phrase from the preface, '*scientific* attempts to conceive and represent formulated ideas.' This is characteristic of Dr. Fairbairn's work as a whole. He was a creator of theological ideas rather than a constructive theologian, and as such precisely the sort of stimulating power for which men look in a pioneer and leader. We have here a series of consecutive 'studies' of Christ in various aspects of His teaching and work, of St. Paul and of St. John, none of which lacks the interest either of strong and independent thought or of vivid and forcible expression. If any claim were put forward on their behalf that they represented the writer's whole mind on the subjects with which they deal, we should have to say that the psychological treatment of our Lord's work tended to obscure its objectivity. But this method of approach was natural to Dr. Fairbairn's supremely ethical outlook, and in any case has given us a contribution of the highest value to the elucidation of those aspects of the New Testament which he touches.

Nothing could illustrate better the change that has passed over religious thought in England during the last decade or so than the contrast presented by Dr. Garvie's *The Christian Certainty and the Modern Perplexity* to Dr. Fairbairn's book. Though an enthusiastic pupil of the late Principal, Dr. Garvie represents the coming and not the departing phase of theological study, and exhibits the constructive rather than the controversial mind. His book, therefore, is typical of the changed attitude, not only towards every form of Christianity but towards all religions, which is the direct result of the increasing use of the historical method. 'Religion,' as he himself puts it, 'is not treated merely as a superstition; but doctrine and ritual and polity in each religion are to be traced back to their

roots in personal experience, for religion is to be regarded as primarily life.

It thus becomes impossible to treat, for example, Catholicism, however courteously, simply as the enemy. In the process of reinterpreting theology those principles, which have found their chief expression in this type of Christianity, must be accorded their due value no less than those, the completer manifestation of which must be sought in Evangelical Protestantism.

The Cardinal Elements of the Christian Faith. By D. S. Adam, B.D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology, Ormond College, Melbourne. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1911.) 6*s*.

This work of a Presbyterian Professor in Australia is a statement, on conservative lines, of the first principles of Christianity. Though it professes in the preface to be addressed to the young men of Ormond College, Melbourne, there is nothing in the method of the book which adapts it to one class of mind more than another. The author shews himself to be well acquainted with the chief philosophies of the day, and he states lucidly the current objections to Materialism, Agnosticism, and Evolution. Perhaps if his book reaches a second edition he will find room for an estimate of Bergson's position. The appendices are by no means the least valuable part of the book. They deal with such matters as 'Revelation and Inspiration,' 'gaps in biological evolution,' 'modern theories of the power of Christ.' One of the best passages is the summary account of the origin of false religious beliefs (pp. 206–209).

Perhaps the most helpful thing in the book is the attention which it calls to the doctrine of the 'Humanity of God' (pp. 152–158). We venture to quote one or two sentences:

'The true deity of Jesus Christ is an article of faith which the Christian Church can never surrender without cutting itself off from the root principle of its life. But if so, this points to an eternal ground in the essential Being of God, a power, element or aspect of the divine life, which is capable of self-adaptation to human nature, capable of becoming man, and so manifesting the divine life in a human life. . . . Inasmuch as man has been made in the image of God, the form of man furnishes a form of being in which the Divine logos can become incarnate without remitting any essential attributes of his being as God, though the range and mode of exercise of these may be limited or adapted to the human form of being . . . It was the failure to realize and give effect to the

close affinity between the Divine logos-nature and ideal human natures which led to difficulties and controversies about the person of Christ in the Early Church.'

To pass to criticism, there is a good deal of repetition in Lecture VII of the material of Lecture VI. The 'moral influence' theory of Atonement is not fairly dealt with (pp. 185–189). Such a sentence as this is quite beside the mark: 'a gratuitous endurance of needless pain and suffering merely to shew forth love seems to sober reason to shew forth folly rather than love.' Again, the treatment of 'absolute idealism' (pp. 28–35) is not very clear without consulting the appendix on the same subject. Professor W. James might be named on p. 32, as his theory there referred to is so well known. Mere Anglicans cannot be expected to know what the 'second paraphrase' (p. 62) is, and can but lift their hands in amazement at the doggerel quoted as Ps. 121 on p. 65, which their Presbyterian brethren sing in church and admire. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit is stated rather vaguely on p. 154. Again, on p. 215 we are left in doubt, if Christ 'by His living spirit continues to-day His prophetic work,' whether the author means us to accept the authority of Christ's own words as final and conclusive. The outstanding problem as to which this doubt may be raised is the institution of marriage.

The Indwelling Spirit. By W. T. Davison, D.D., Principal of Richmond College. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1911.) 6*s*.

Dr. Davison's object in these pages is to approach the great doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which, as he justly observes, has in former ages received inadequate attention on the part of theologians, from the point of view of experience rather than of dogma. In this he follows the characteristic method of the times. In so doing he is not unmindful of the various 'philosophico-religious' theories, more or less akin to the Christian doctrine, which claim to satisfy the needs of the age, and the inadequacy of which he seeks by contrast to make clear. A bibliography is given at the beginning of the volume, and it is significant that almost every work included in the list is subsequent to the year 1880. In the various discussions that follow, amid much that is informing and suggestive, there is something disappointing and indecisive.

We read through the chapter on mystical religion, for example, without being quite sure whether mysticism is to be taken as an essential aspect of all religion or represents only a particular

type. Dr. Davison shares the hesitation common to many modern writers, who tend to confuse their readers by so broadening the basis of mystical religion as to include all forms of experimental faith. It is at least as important to differentiate Christianity from mysticism as to suggest that the one is a particular form of the other. Christian mysticism is not identical with Christian experience. Dr. Davison cites Professor Pringle-Pattison's description of the mystic as one who maintains 'the possibility of direct intercourse with the Being of beings—*not through external media such as historical revelation.*' We have italicized the words which seem to us to mark off the province of mysticism from anything that can be called distinctively Christian. Surely it is best to preserve the limitation, and to employ the Biblical epithet 'spiritual,' derived as it is from that very Personality of whom Dr. Davison writes, to express the inward experience which ought to belong to every Christian.

III.—Sermons and Homiletics.

At the Temple Church. Sermons by H. G. Woods, D.D., Master of the Temple. (T. and T. Clark. 1911.) 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

This is a volume in the series called 'The Scholar as Preacher,' and it fully justifies its place. For the sermons it contains are not so much the burning message of the inspired prophet as the measured reflexions of the cultured pastor. The *religio loci* has had its influence on Dr. Woods' mind at the Temple no less than at Oxford. The quiet atmosphere of those old courts, which surround the Church of the Knights Templar and shelter it from the roar of London, breathes into the Master's sermons a hopeful serenity appropriate to the Sabbath hours of busy men of affairs. The problems of modern life and thought are met in a spirit of sober suggestion, and the preacher is concerned to form the temper in which they should be encountered rather than to indicate the precise method by which they should be solved. Dr. Woods is a liberal theologian, who yet perceives the danger of any drastic or revolutionary handling of the truths of Christianity. To use the title of one of his discourses, he recommends flexibility in religious thought without breaking the continuity of Christian experience. 'If once,' he says, 'the central doctrine of the relation of Christ to the Father and to the human soul be generally abandoned, the continuity of Christianity must cease to have any real meaning.' On the

other hand he is fully alive to the modern conception of the 'life-process,' in its bearing on religious experience. 'As Christ walks upon the waters, He pauses for a moment on the wave which forms our little generation—a moment, and He has passed on to the succeeding age.' That is finely said.

The Enterprise of Life. By the Rev. J. R. F. Sclater, M.A. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1911.) 5*s.* net.

This volume contains 'addresses delivered from an Edinburgh pulpit to audiences composed, for the most part, of those who stand at the beginning of the enterprise.' A preacher, who can begin a sermon by telling us that, 'for a very practical-minded man, James does not do so badly in these verses' (St. James i. 23–25), has much to learn. We see no reason why he should not learn it, and he will do so, if he will put himself to school with such a leader of his own church as Dr. Denney. It will not do to patronize the Brethren of the Lord, nor John Henry Newman, nor Luther with his 'epistle of straw.' Sometimes the style reaches the borders of irreverence. Mr. Sclater searches for God in those 'three extra-canonical teachers of religion,' Tennyson, Meredith, and Browning, each one of whom he seems to enjoy hitting off in a few cryptic sentences, and concludes by declaring that 'meantime, for our inspiration, for our guidance in thought and for the resting of our minds, we have Jesus Christ.' 'Really,' he exclaims, 'it is hard not to see God in Him.' When the author of these addresses has had a longer experience of the mystery of sin and the deep need of human souls, we venture to predict that he will be less interested in minutely describing Rubens' Crucifixion as illustrating the verses of Frederic Myers, and, determined to know nothing save Jesus Christ and Him crucified, will achieve a more chastened style and a purer diction.

Reasons and Reasons. By James Moffatt, B.D., D.D., D.Litt. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1911.) 6*s.*

There are not a few who would welcome a more complete detachment of the theological chair from the pastoral office than at present prevails in this country. Such a divorce would not be unattended with disadvantages, and Dr. Moffatt well illustrates the value of the union. A scholar of recognized authority, he is in constant touch with the religious needs of the average man. Acute criticism of the New Testament has done nothing to

impair his evangelical sanity. He has the Gospel, and can present it to a Christian congregation, concerned with the ordinary occupations of life, in a form which not only stimulates belief but enables the believer to give a reason for the faith that is in him. The title of this volume does not make its contents immediately apparent. It is suggestive of apologetic discussions on the fundamentals of Christianity, not excluding original sin. It is really something better. There is the ordinary teaching of the pulpit from Sunday to Sunday. If only the lines here adopted were more commonly followed, the demand for apologetic literature would be smaller than it is. Men would instinctively come to feel the largeness and depth of the Christian Revelation.

The Trial of our Faith, and other Papers. By THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L. (Macmillan and Co. 1911.) *7s. 6d.* net.

THESE papers and addresses cover, as the author acknowledges in the preface, a wide area. Their purpose is mainly homiletic. They were delivered for the most part to members of the Society of Friends, by one of its most trusted leaders, for the purpose of confirming them in the Faith. Perhaps the most interesting in the selection is that entitled 'On the prospects of English Protestantism.' Here Dr. Hodgkin gives his view of that fascinating figure, which among all the personalities of the Nineteenth century has few rivals in interest whether for literature, history, or religion—Cardinal Newman. After noticing the 'sweetness,' which is coming to be recognized by common consent as one of the dominant notes of his influence, the writer proceeds to draw a parallel between Bismarck and the great Tractarian:

> 'It will seem paradoxical to some of my audience thus to couple together the remorseless man of blood and iron and the delicate-fibred, almost over-conscientious doctor of theology; but my point is that the influence of both these men tended to bring us back into bondage. Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century had some aspirations after a reign of righteousness and peace; Germany had still an Ideal; when the Pomeranian squire, with his jack-boots and clanking sword, stalked on to the stage and said, "Brute Force is the only arbiter; down with the Idealists and their dreams; I am going to make Deutschland supreme; no matter how many lives are sacrificed; no matter how many falsehoods I may have to tell; by Blood and Iron I will prevail." And thus, as I conceive, has Otto von Bismarck put back the clock of human progress for a century.'

The same result Dr. Hodgkin considers Newman to have achieved

by reactionary obscurantism in the sphere of English Christianity. The comparison is interesting, even though we must insist that Tractarianism has made a contribution of positive value to the life of the English Church, and that its genius is by no means wholly represented by him who finally lost faith in its principles.

Dr. Hodgkin's account of the heroes of Quakerism, George Fox and James Parnel, is a timely comment on the claim persistently advanced in behalf of the Independents as the parents of civil and religious liberty.

Why the two papers on Ignatius were reproduced from the *Friends' Quarterly Review* of 1886–7 is not immediately apparent. They are a summary rather than a criticism of Bishop Lightfoot's edition of the Epistles. It is only when we reach the concluding pages of the second that their true bearing is revealed. Like many other communities of Christians the Society of Friends now recognizes that the protest in which it had its origin represented an exaggerated claim. 'I cannot see,' writes Dr. Hodgkin, 'why a Bishop, exercising his office in constant and prayerful dependence upon Christ, is any more truly a usurper of the functions of the Head of the Church than a Moderator of a Synod, or a Clerk of a Yearly Meeting.' The *raison d'être* of any religious body is to be sought in its positive contribution to the manifestation of Christ and its peculiar appeal to different classes and types. But this leaves the question of effective unity among separately organized Christians entirely undetermined. When this problem becomes urgent, and we are forced to ask how without inextricable confusion we may arrive not only at an interchange of pulpits but at a common ministration of rites, we begin to inquire, not so much whether one form is of right divine, as whether any gives fuller expression in the sphere of outward order to that unity of the Spirit which is the secret of Christian life.

The Way Everlasting. By JAMES DENNEY, D.D. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1911.) 6*s.*

FEW men have done more in recent years to influence the development of theological teaching and interpretation, at least among English-speaking Christians, than Dr. Denney, notably in his *Death of Christ.* The publication of these sermons is, therefore, peculiarly welcome as affording practical illustration of the way in which the great Christian principles, for which he stands,

may be brought home to the modern conscience through the normal channel of the pulpit.

Dr. Denney has a Wordsworthian love of nature coupled with a Calvinistic consciousness of God. His range of topics is wide. As was to be expected there are many sermons that touch the Atonement in its various aspects. He is so deeply Evangelical that he is able to interpret the sacraments with a power from which Protestantism too often shrinks. He has no doubt, for example, that the famous passage in 1 St. John, which speaks of 'the water and the blood,' vividly contemplates Baptism and the Supper. 'The sacraments,' he declares, 'are a perpetual witness against the spirit that separates the two elements in the being and experience of Jesus,' that is, Godhead and Manhood. The present writer recalls but one occasion on which he has heard a public exposition of this text, and that was in a Scottish Free Church, when the exegesis was anything but sacramental!

We may notice another correction of popular evangelicalism, which is apt to exalt the empty Cross rather than the Crucifix. Dr. Denney, like John Bunyan, knows his New Testament too well to make any such mistake. There is no finer passage in the whole volume than the concluding paragraph of the sermon on 'Man's Claims and God's Response':

'Think what it means to say: We preach Christ crucified. Here, in this place, at this hour, He is held up on His cross, the Son of God, bearing the sin of the world. You wish to know the final truth about God? Here it is, eternal love, bearing sin. Can you think of a power so wonderful as that which bears the sin of the whole world? A power so able to regenerate you, and to put the key of life, and of all the mysteries with which it confronts you, into your hand? Can you want anything better to trust, anything worthier to inspire, anything abler to throw upon all the dark places of life the light of hope and joy? There is not anything. It is here or nowhere we must learn what the power and wisdom of God mean; and whatever we may have been seeking or expecting or claiming, it is here, in the presence of Christ crucified, that the voice of God comes to us at last: "Look unto Me and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth: I am God, and there is none else."'

When we have teachers, like Dr. Fairbairn, disparaging the language which speaks of the Eucharist as the highest act of Christian worship, it is refreshing to find so robust a thinker as Dr. Denney maintaining that it is a mark of the ideal Church, as St. Luke apprehended it, that the Lord's Supper has a central place in its worship. There is little to choose between the

teaching of the Scots Nonjurors and this modern Presbyterian, when we consider such language as the following :

'When the Supper is celebrated He is again present, really present, not indeed in the sacramental elements, but in the sense of them ; that is, He is present as the Lord whose body was broken and His (*sic*) blood shed for men, present in the power of His atonement, present to be the meat and drink of the soul.'

But Dr. Denney by no means confines himself to the narrow limits of the doctrine of the Atonement. Nothing could reveal more clearly his broad outlook upon fundamental truth than his treatment of 'Elemental Religion' and 'Creation.' In his sermon on 'Wrong Roads to the Kingdom' there is much that recalls the considerations which have recently been urged by the Dean of St. Paul's in his lectures on the 'Spirit of the Age.' And there is a balance in his utterances, which other preachers would do well to imitate. His repugnance, for example, to the 'religious etiquette' which esteems it pious to say 'our blessed Lord,' as though 'it were a sin to say Jesus,' does not blind him to the irreverence which too often treats the Lord as though He were one of us, and so becomes guilty of saying 'a word against the Son of Man.' The attitude of Christ's brethren

'is reproduced by a great many people who, without thinking what they are doing, really take the measure of Jesus in their own minds, point out His limitations, assign Him His place, shew where and how far He paid tribute to His time—betray, in short, in their whole relation to Him, the twentieth century's sense of its own superiority to the first.'

But we must not go on quoting from sermons all of which deserve to be read with close attention, especially by those who would themselves be preachers.

Famous Sermons by English Preachers. Edited with Introductory Notes by Douglas Macleane, M.A., Canon of Salisbury. (Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd. 1911.) 6*s.*

Of most pieces of book-making it is sufficient to say that they no doubt serve their turn well enough : of a much smaller number the conscientious reviewer finds himself impelled to add that the Editor has conferred a real service on historical students. It is to this latter class that Mr. Macleane's book seems to us clearly to belong. Of course any selection of twenty-one sermons out of a homiletic literature of nearly 1200 years invites criticism, as he frankly recognizes ; for every

one chosen many others must be omitted. But taking as his initial assumption that what makes a famous sermon is 'either some historic circumstance or result connected with it, or else some quality in itself of unusual eloquence or spiritual power,' he has tried to give examples of both kinds. It would be possible on this principle to construct several very interesting lists, which would probably not bear a closer resemblance to Mr. Macleane's than that does to Dr. Johnson's, which is somewhat marred by the fact that it was framed on the ground of style and that the names were suggested by Boswell. But there are few who will not be glad to have the famous sermon of Latimer with its question 'Who is the most diligentest bishop and prelate in all England, that passeth all the rest in doing his office?' or as a curiosity that specimen of political preaching which secured for Convocation an enforced silence of 135 years and for the preacher the ultimate position of representative of 'Christianity *secundum usum Winton.*' The selection has the curious result of placing Bede and Andrewes and Laud, Jeremy Taylor and Wesley, side by side with Sacheverell and Sydney Smith, to take a few instances; but there is none which will not be studied with interest. Keble's famous Assize sermon on 'National Apostasy,' preached on the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, Hook's 'Hear the Church,' Newman's deeply moving discourse on 'The Parting of Friends,' Pusey on 'The Entire Absolution of the Penitent' and Liddon's 'Five Minutes after Death,' are known by repute to hundreds who have probably not hitherto had the opportunity of reading them; and even if Mr. Macleane is far from maintaining a judicial impartiality in his short introductions to the separate sermons, most readers, we think, will hope that the book may have a sufficient sale to justify a second series.

The Great Texts of the Bible. 'Isaiah.' 'St. Mark.' Edited by J. HASTINGS, D.D. Two volumes. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1911.) 10s. each.

Books of Biblical illustration, compiled for preachers, carry with them too often their own condemnation. It is difficult to say why this should be so. Perhaps grace, like nature, allows no short cuts to success. Possibly also illustrations drawn from such sources lack the element of freshness which is so essential to make them live before an audience. When, however, Dr. Hastings attempts a venture in this direction, we can forgive him for treading on forbidden ground.

In this new work he certainly does tread there, and he does so in a very ingenious way. He has for some time past published in the *Expository Times* a series of articles on the 'Great Texts of the Bible,' for which he has drawn largely upon his readers. Dr. Hastings thus ensures wide area of reading, observation and experience for the sources of his contributions. At times he falls into the pit into which most of his predecessors have fallen. He prints some saying or anecdote which is commonplace, stale or sentimental. At the same time this element does not occur frequently enough to mar the value of the work.

In a work of this kind, perhaps, much critical comment is not to be expected. In the first volume of the series, that on Isaiah, there is scant suggestion of any subdivision of the book (p. 463), or of any rearrangement of certain chapters, or of the existence of a deutero-Isaiah or a trito-Isaiah, or of any other luminary who may have written so matchless a passage as c. liii. There is a mention of the 'great prophet of the Exile' in commenting on c. xl. 31.

The question of the Servant of Jehovah is touched upon several times. 'Whether this is a personification of Israel or the picture of the individual ideal servant, we have the true religion beating against the narrow local barriers and leaping forward to a large universal life' (p. 262; see also pp. 303, 325). Exegesis, however, is not copious. Of this we do not complain, but we are led to expect more in this connexion. The Preface states three aims in the compilation of the book, (1) a short introduction to each text, bringing it into relation with its context; (2) arrangement of its contents in order, giving due place to leading thoughts and subordinate topics; (3) exposition of the contents of the text, with illustration. The third aim receives full treatment, while the attention given to the first is often scanty. Twenty-five texts are treated, the average space devoted to each numbering twenty pages. The first text treated receives the shortest treatment, occupying six pages, while c. vi. 1–8 ('The Making of a Missionary') is given sixty-five pages. There are several fine passages in the book. The comments on 'the alleged uncertainty of revelation' (p. 480) are particularly good.

The choice of St. Mark for the first New Testament volume is as happy as that of the evangelical prophecies for the first Old Testament volume. The opening article discusses well the 'Beginning of the Gospel,' and twenty-four texts are treated. 'The Two Commandments' (c. xii. 29–31) receive the fullest attention. The exegetical paragraphs are often excellent. In

writing of the Temptation, Dr. Hastings affirms the personality of Satan, but he does not allow that Satan appeared in a bodily form to our Lord. In the Lord's Day 'we have all that made the Sabbath a boon to man' (p. 102). 'The Kingdom is the rule of God, whether in the human heart or in society. It exists now, but it has its full realization in eternity' (p. 336).

The proportions of St. Mark's Gospel are well observed: one-third of the book relates to the events of the Holy Week. Some great texts we miss, *e.g.* c. x. 45, and we should have liked fuller exposition of the doctrine of the Atonement. The chapter of the actual Crucifixion furnishes only one text for treatment (c. xv. 21). An index would have added to the value of each of the two parts; but perhaps Dr. Hastings has omitted it for disciplinary reasons. Certainly the preacher has much done for him in these volumes even without the luxury of an index.

IV.—Economics and Social Questions.

The Principles of Economics. By F. W. Taussig. Two vols. (Macmillan. 1912.) Price 17*s.*

An elaborate treatise on economics extending to 1100 pages is naturally to be treated as likely to be mastered only by the serious student, and so far as the ordinary individual is concerned it must remain only a work of reference. As such, however, Professor Taussig's book must be considered to be absolutely indispensable to any library which tries to cover the absorbing field of knowledge embraced by the overlapping studies of sociology, economics, and political theory. The author is a professor at Harvard and one of the most learned men living on the practical details of tariffs. He has filled his book with every variety of illustration from the facts of actual business. His power of expression is complete and his knowledge extraordinarily wide. It would be safe to say that nowhere else could so much useful material be found lying open for the student.

To take an example of the emphasis Professor Taussig lays on the practical connexion between business and economics, his views as to the comparative value of mathematics as an instrument in this field are of great importance. Mathematical formulation of an economic problem, he thinks, is often misleading by giving an appearance of accuracy to a generalization on materials, the selection of which is often tentative and provisional. This is true even of simple diagrams. He thus avoids the

common habit of many English economists, who carry on their reasoning by a mathematical method which is wholly foreign to the uncertain character of the premisses on which all their argument is based. It is refreshing to have this doctrine laid down by one who is entitled to be considered an authority on these matters.

In all practical matters he knows too much to be dogmatic. What could be more moderate and convincing than his brief summing up of the vexed question of the incidence of an import duty on price ?

> 'When a duty is imposed on a commodity, its price usually rises by the amount of the duty. Usually it does so, but not necessarily ; and not always at once, but often only in the end, even in those cases where this normal result is to be looked for . . . Hence it is true that a duty on imports, and indeed any tax on a commodity, may fall for a while on the producer, foreign or domestic ; while yet, in the end, it falls with its *full weight* on the consumer.'

The two chapters which respectively sum up the best of the arguments on both sides of the great fiscal controversy are so admirable a statement of the conflicting contentions that they would be well worth reprinting separately, with perhaps an introduction and some amplification and a brief history of tariffs in modern times. The subject is handled in the only possible way by reviewing the circumstances of each of the great progressive countries of the world—Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. In the first case the writer states that the usual protectionist arguments—increased employment for home labour, support of domestic industry, tribute to foreigners in payments for imports, and so on—are more insidiously dangerous than anywhere else. This country, he says, depends for its very existence on manufacturing industries which are able to face the competition of the world. On the other side of the case he gives great weight to the arguments of patriotic origin in favour of maintaining the German agrarian system, and admits that protection in America has aided to establish firmly many leading industries.

In one illuminating sentence he ascribes the growth of the Tariff Reform movement in this country to the breakdown of the British school of political economy and the admitted need of a thorough reconstruction of economic theory.

This brings us to the weak point of the book. To this reconstruction of theory Professor Taussig contributes little or nothing. He is apparently conscious himself of this deficiency

because in his preface he admits that he has troubled himself little with the proper definition of value, a subject which is at the root of a sound theory. For this reason the book might have been much better named 'A Practical Treatise of Economics,' rather than 'Principles of Economics.' It is really more a collection of sound monographs on many economic points than any consistent constructive attempt to bind all these questions together.

On p. 115 of Volume I Professor Taussig states his own description of value. 'The value of a commodity means in economics its power of commanding other commodities in exchange. It means the rate at which the commodity exchanges for others.' Now this is not a definition; it is a combination of two conflicting statements. The first rightly postulates 'value of' as a potential condition dependent on a possible future occurrence, namely an exchange. The second confines the existence of value to the state of process of exchange, as if implying that without exchange values do not exist. That is contrary to common use and common sense. For instance, has the Venus of Milo no value because it is never likely to be exchanged? Of course everyone knows it has value and value almost intrinsic so long as our Western civilization continues.

Value is of course not a quality but an attribute. It is not immanent in any commodity, however useful; but it is the measure of the desire of others for a commodity usually quoted in some medium of exchange. A loaf of bread is worth not fourpence but what anyone will give for it. The baker may think it worth fourpence and say so and persuade many people to give fourpence for a good many loaves, but, if he has too many loaves, in the end some of them will be unsold or sold for a smaller price and *the loss on these* has to be spread over the sales of the others. The real value of all the loaves taken together at any moment before they were sold was therefore, or might be, something less than fourpence, even though the price of *some of them* might be that figure. The briefest method of illustrating the doctrine that value is not an immanent quality is by noting that the value of part of any given quantity is very often greater than the value of the whole. If I had 10,000 Rembrandts I should probably have to pay some one to burn them; whereas if I had only five of them, I could buy a hundred motor-cars or a grouse moor in Scotland.

There is much admirable material for quotation in this treatise, and amongst the more interesting points is Professor

Taussig's opinion on the economic validity of a legal minimum wage. Contrary to received doctrine he considers this to be economically justifiable, and with this rather daring innovation the reviewer finds himself in cordial agreement.

Social Pathology. By S. G. Smith, Ph.D., LL.D., University of Minnesota. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1911.) 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

Though this is a book to refer to rather than to read, it is unfortunately not well arranged for reference. Much of it, if not compiled from actual heads for lectures, is at least in a form suggestive of an analysis of contents. Yet chapters and pages are alike destitute of headings, and the index is the only clue to the masses of information with which they are crowded.

There are, however, useful statistical tables and a Bibliography which readers are warned against regarding as complete, and from which, indeed, the works of Professor and Mrs. Bosanquet and Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb are missing.

Sane, sound and informing, rather than original, Dr. Smith's book is certainly a valuable compendium of social fact and theory. The praiseworthy avoidance of long sentences, which in the earlier pages is carried to excess, yields, later on, to a style of less severity and even to occasional flashes of humanity. But, apart from what may, with apology, be called Americanisms, the text suggests some carelessness of revision. It should hardly, for instance, be necessary for the student to disentangle for himself two distinct usages of the word 'pathology.' Sometimes it means, as one would expect, the theory or science of morbid conditions; at other times the morbid conditions themselves.

Thus at page 3 we are told that 'social pathology is a study of social defeats,' while at page 5 we read of 'the number of the causes for pathology within social groups,' and at page 8 of the theory that 'under all the various forms of social pathology there is a common ground in the morbid nervous conditions of individuals.' At page 27, again, reference is made to the possibility of a whole social group being pathological in mind, morals or fortune. At page 129 the pauper is described as 'a pathological person' and at 224 we are warned against 'the modern tendency to interpret every form of human pathology in social terms.'

Nor does this example of a tendency to confused expression stand alone. Among more than a score of others may be noted

'General theory *recently insists* upon the importance of economic conditions.' 'Still another type there is, perhaps, not so admirable, but certainly worth while.' 'The American situation with respect to the care and cure of drunkards is ill-defined and largely not existent.' 'A man was actually better off to be a pauper than to be a worker.' 'Some English reports show that, as a rule, the number of prisoners decrease as the number of paupers decrease; . . . but the number of paupers have not decreased solely, etc.' 'Institutions . . . first mould the coming generation after the pattern of the one that is passing away, as well as they more conspicuously serve as methods of social life and action.' 'Those born with vitality are likely to die sooner than to go insane.' 'They are precocious for similar reasons that precocity prevails among the offspring of savages.'

So far as can be judged, however, where so wide a field is covered, inaccuracies of statement are as rare as inelegancies of phrase are frequent. Dr. Smith is, perhaps, not quite free from the too common tendency to assert dogmatically certain views of the evolution of the State and the ways of primitive man which are, after all, largely speculative and unproven, and the 'categorical imperative' in ethics is somewhat lightly disposed of as a purely social growth. The estimate of the compensations of slavery seems to leave out of account the condition of the slave who, from inability to work, becomes valueless to his master. Deserted wives are classed with widows as constituting a single problem for philanthropy, though the author is doubtless aware of the special dangers attending the relief of the former. There is true wisdom in the recognition at page 110 of 'a certain noble inconsistency in practical life not to be found in economic science,' and it is certainly good to be reminded that 'men of affairs will do a thing that ought to be done and then stop short of the thing which they think dangerous, even if it be logically consistent.' Of this free education is an example; but it is misleading to state, a few pages further on, that among the various influences which have affected East London is, 'first of all, the establishment of board schools which offer free education to all the children and which have formed centres of influence for the regeneration of the public.' For it is needless to point out that Voluntary as well as 'Provided' schools are free, and Board schools belong to ancient history.

Dr. Smith rightly insists that economics, understood in a wide sense and humanized, should have due place in sociology, but

he is on questionable ground when he asserts that 'the world's conflicts have been for things rather than for ideas.' He puts his finger on the defects of profit-sharing as hitherto attempted, but has no doubt that 'a scientific scheme might be devised under which the cost of interest and superintendence should be taken out first, then the ordinary wages should follow, and what remained should be regarded as profits to be divided in proportion to the amount of wages as compared with the amount of interest and superintendence taken together.' Under such a system, however, 'a sinking fund would have to be provided to take care of years of loss in the management of the business.' Surely a very serious, if not fatal, proviso.

He regards co-operation, and even Socialism, as possible solutions of an artificially isolated problem of poverty rather than of the whole problem presented by Social Pathology.

'Even though it (the method of co-operation) were thought the safest and wisest for established enterprises, there are still new inventions to be discovered, new enterprises to be undertaken, new methods to be devised, and these will always be stimulated by men who have an opportunity for individual enterprise and individual profit.'

And again:

'Under any so-called competitive system, the wages can never be any larger than the production of the business will warrant; the same is equally true under any co-operative system; it would be true under any socialistic system. The thing to inquire is what system produces, on the whole, the highest and finest results. Nor would it, at last, be any final solution of the larger social question, though it might be a solution of the special problem of poverty, if it could be ascertained that a particular method of social organization would eliminate poverty and, at the same time, eliminate all powerful effort of powerful men and reduce society to the mediocrity of a dead-level.'

There, indeed, is the difficulty. America admires its millionaires because they are self-made. It has not yet been much troubled with ancestral parasitism. At the same time Dr. Smith will have none of the defence of luxury as a promoter of employment.

'It is not necessary to argue against fine houses (any more than against pictures and poems), but it should be seen that every stately mansion withdraws labour from the process of providing adequate shelter for the people and makes every cottage more expensive.'—'Luxury may be defended upon artistic or cultural

grounds. It may be defended as the suitable reward for unusual capacity or devotion to tasks. But it seems evident that luxury is without any economic defence until every man, woman and child is supplied with the necessaries of life.'

There is much truth in the statement that the State, in civilized times, has been largely occupied in the effort to protect the interests of those who possessed more than their fellows. It is, of course, easy to reply that the larger the property the greater its need of protection, but that is to miss the point. The poorer the man the more he—as man—is in need of protection, and personal claims and rights, even more than proprietary, are the proper care of the State.

On the great problem of education, how to make teaching at once educational and practical, Dr. Smith has something to say, and he seems to have at least partly grasped the true solution that the instruction which meets the varied needs of various lives should be so given, and so combined with intellectual culture, that more complete, as well as more efficient, men and women should be produced, and actual needs and aptitudes and conditions of environment should be utilized as educational forces rather than thwarted as hindrances or disregarded as irrelevant. 'It is well enough to furnish cultural studies, but culture can also be secured in the kind of training that will help a boy to earn his daily bread.' 'The census of any country furnishes the substantial facts upon which the education of that group should be based.' 'The education of any social group should be based on the occupations of the people.'

On marriage and divorce he speaks with less certainty. 'It may be doubted whether any definite relation between divorce and social morality can be established,' and yet 'the social effect of divorce is an attack upon the cell structure of society. The strength and permanence of the home is the basis of social integrity. The stability is even more important to the children than it is to the parents. A shifting parenthood prevents a normal childhood.' He seems, on the whole, to favour laxity in the law supplemented and corrected by sound and strong public opinion and 'the sanctions of religion.' Nor must his plan for, as it were, undermining vice and cutting it off at the roots be forgotten. 'To teach the sacredness of the functions of life and the easy possibility (*sic*) of poisoning the entire future of the individual, to change the curiosity of childhood into the safeguards of common wisdom are obvious social duties.' This,

of course, is not enough, but it is well that the physician should thus come to the aid of the teacher and the priest against the too common inertia or hostility of public opinion. There is danger, not only in ignorance, but in knowledge picked up in the gutter.

V.—Education.

1. *The Psychology of Education.* By J. Welton, Professor of Education, University of Leeds. (Macmillan and Co. 1911.) *7s. 6d.* net.
2. *Idealism in Education.* By H. H. Horne, Professor of the History of Philosophy and Education, New York University. (The Macmillan Company. 1910.) 5*s.* 6*d.* net.
3. *Educational Values.* By W. C. Bagley, Professor of Education, University of Illinois. (The Macmillan Company. 1911.) 5*s.* net.
4. *A Text-Book in the Principles of Education.* By E. N. Henderson, Professor of Education and Philosophy, Adelphi College, Brooklyn. (The Macmillan Company. 1910.) *7s. 6d.* net.
5. *The Essentials of Character.* By E. O. Sisson, Professor of Education, University of Washington. (The Macmillan Company. 1910.) 4*s.* 6*d.* net.
6. *Craftsmanship in Teaching.* By W. C. Bagley. (The Macmillan Company. 1911.) 5*s.* net.

The five authors of these six books are by no means of one mind respecting all the subjects which they touch, and the books themselves attain different levels of achievement; but all are marked by the attitude of caution which befits the sane person taking stock of current notions concerning education. The authors are not disposed to find virtue in novelty wholly and solely because it is new, and they are convinced of the essential soundness of many conceptions and practices which are old. Nevertheless, they are fully aware of the claims upon the educator's attention which are established by the modern doctrines of instinct, heredity and evolution. Accepting the principle that the chief aim of education is the formation of character, they consider the means open to the educator, limited as he is by family history, family life and social surroundings. Naturally,

the less conservative portions of the books are those which treat of these topics. The writers are in substantial agreement as to the errors of an exclusively intellectual education, of confusing interest with amusement, of neglecting to train children to put forth effort. With one exception, the authors are all American; incidentally, they testify that Herbartianism is a spent force in America.

If there is one word on a title-page which is more apt than the word 'Education' to scare the general reader, it must be the word 'Psychology.' Yet Professor Welton has ventured to include both terms in the name which he gives to his latest book. Those who are familiar with his writings will find nothing but encouragement in the fact; others will do well not to be deterred by the author's boldness. The book is conspicuously one which deals with reality, and it has a message for all who are concerned, whether as parents, teachers, administrators or public men, in the education of others. While the exposition is always as sober and serious as it is clearly and engagingly expressed, it is no mere restatement of conventional platitudes, but a frank criticism, from a competent mind, of most of the ideas which underlie the practice of education in this country to-day. In illustration may be cited Mr. Welton's instructive handling of such topics as the mental differences of the sexes and the corresponding educational corollaries, the bearing of cherished purposes upon the up-bringing of the individual, the difference between attention and absorption, the nature of stupidity and the manner of its cultivation, 'the educationally deadly theory that life is directed from without.' The book ought to convince the unprejudiced that psychology is a necessary part of the educator's equipment; on the other hand, it exposes the inadequacy, for the practical purposes of teaching, of much which has claimed to be considered psychology. No exaggerated claims are made for what is confessedly a study still in its infancy, and the teacher is urged to make use of his opportunities for pursuing it.

Of course, the book raises controversial points. We are not ready to agree that the 'fashionable' distinction between the logical and psychological sequences of teaching is due to 'muddle-headedness.' The very chapter in which this verdict is stated expounds and illustrates the distinction which the incriminated terms seek to convey. They may not be the most suitable terms for the purpose; but that is another matter. The point is of small moment when compared with the leading thesis of the book: 'It may be fairly said that the essential task of

education is to promote the purposive element in life.' Professor Welton applies this far-reaching principle in a most illuminating way to the daily work of teacher and pupil; the result from all points of view is an admirable book which does honour to English scholarship.

Professor Horne's title scarcely describes his book, which has not much to say respecting philosophic idealism. His theme is what he terms 'man-making,' and his ideals are such as belong to the fields of heredity, environment and will (or individuality). He holds the educator's creed that 'within the limitations of inherited capacities and environing opportunities man becomes what he will'; his concluding chapter answers the question, Where does God come into the process of man-making? The crucial chapter of such a work is, of course, that which deals with the will; here the author proves to be helpful in many respects. But he might have been still more helpful, if he had given himself room for a fuller exposition and discussion by omitting an irrelevant and uncritical *résumé* of the development of the individual throughout historical times.

The illustrations from, and allusions to, American society are attractive to the English reader, and they have the merit of contradicting some of the nonsense in reference to Anglo-American relations which is dear to the facile writer in English newspapers. The bibliographies which close each of the first three chapters offer 'feeding' more confused than fine.

Professor Bagley seeks to lay down a rational basis for the instructor's method; although 'Educational Values' is somewhat too technical for lengthy notice in these pages, it is a clear presentation of many of the questions of curriculum and of processes of teaching as these are now conceived. The distinction drawn between value as *function* and value as *content* is frequently forgotten when the claims or 'values' of different studies are being urged; as Mr. Bagley says: 'Ends and means must be sharply distinguished, especially when they are likely to be confused as standards of judgment.' In reviewing the school society and environment as a source of educative material, Professor Bagley expresses the opinion that, in this respect, the English school succeeds where the American more often fails, partly because the former is much more frequently a boarding-school, where a large measure of responsibility and real self-government can be thrown upon the pupils. He is opposed to the travesty of civic government which has been introduced into

some schools, and he makes the gravest charges against the 'fraternities,' or semi-secret clubs, which school-boys have been allowed to establish in imitation of undergraduate custom. The following passage represents the author's attitude towards the agitation for 'industrial education.'

'Economic conditions may demand the specialized training of a predestined proletariat, but the duty of determining whether this demand is in line with the ultimate progress of the nation will not be left entirely in the hands of those whose private interests would naturally predispose them to see the immediate advantages of such training and overlook its ultimate dangers.'

The point is vigorously enforced in an address on 'Teaching Children how to Study,' which forms one of the twelve chapters of *Craftsmanship in Teaching*. This little volume, made up of addresses delivered to educational societies between 1907 and 1910, is a most readable *apologia* of 'old-fashioned' and true ideas concerning the teacher's craft, and a protest against the cult of mere novelty. One of its unfashionable doctrines is, that the educator's duty frequently lies in combating the influence of the environment, in arousing the pupil to wage war upon it; such teaching is imperatively required in the presence of those who believe that the purpose of education is a very literal 'adjustment to environment.'

This latter doctrine is a great feature of Mr. Henderson's *Text-Book*, a work which attempts too much; even six hundred pages are too few, when the histories of all life and of human culture are compressed to yield generalizations which may have educational validity. The result is that the 'principles' named on the title-page 'apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.' An advanced student will be able to recover some fruitful ideas from the welter of genetic psychology, biology, sociology; but for the novice the work might with advantage be much abbreviated.

This criticism applies more particularly to the first portion of the book, where the real, that is the historical, evolution of the theory of education is dismissed in two dozen superficial and inaccurate pages (disfigured by frequent errors in Latin titles), which are followed by five times as many devoted to the jelly-fish, the liver fluke, and similar relevant matters. All this strikes the reader as mere pretentiousness, of which educational theory may be very well regarded as independent; the author does his topic justice when he gets to such concrete considerations as 'the process of education in the individual' and 'the educational agencies'—considerations which appertain in a very real sense to

the avowed purpose of his book. The pages which Mr. Henderson devotes to 'Play' are admirably employed.

Professor Sisson's 'practical study of the aim of moral education' is indeed 'practical,' and everywhere informed by good sense; the little volume is abreast of modern knowledge, and alive to the faults as well as to the virtues of modern practice. One does not often encounter in American books on education such a passage as 'we dare not forget that religion is an integral part of human life and culture, and hence of education.' This is a wise book from which parents may learn much. It is impossible to read the chapter on 'Habits' in the copy under review, as two *sheets* have suffered terribly at the hands of the folder.

VI.—History and Antiquities.

A Biography of Thomas Deacon. By H. Broxap, M.A. 'University of Manchester Historical Publications,' No. XI. (Manchester University Press. 1911.) *7s. 6d.* net.

The more the history of the Non-jurors is investigated, the more clearly it appears that Dr. Johnson was unjust in his judgement of them, and the late Professor J. E. B. Mayor right when he said that there was no other 'English sect so eminent, in proportion to its number, alike for solid learning and for public as well as private virtues.' Of one of them, Thomas Deacon, whose tomb describes him as 'the greatest of sinners and most unworthy of Primitive Bishops,' Mr. Henry Broxap has written a most excellent biography, interesting and vivacious as well as careful and thorough, though not (as we shall shew) quite complete. Deacon was a fierce Non-juror, and should be a man after the heart of some moderns; he refused to communicate with the Church of England because it accepted the Royal Supremacy. By some he might be compared to Archibald Campbell, Bishop of Aberdeen, whom Johnson called 'very curious and inquisitive but credulous'; but he was really much the superior of the cadet of the house of Argyll. In the first place, he was a person of great learning. Ordained by Gandy in 1716, when he was probably not yet nineteen, he had already shewn remarkable theological aptitude. He became a theologian of very high qualifications, as well as a physician of consideration. A strong 'Usager' it is probable that he was the author of the revised Communion Office which that section of the Non-jurors put forth.

In 1734 he went further, and in his *Compleat Devotions* sanctioned infant Confirmation and Communion. It is in regard to the conclusion of the dispute that Mr. Broxap makes a curious blunder. In his summary of the facts concerning the 'Instrument of Union' (1732) he relies, apparently, on an incomplete and inaccurate version, entirely ignoring the original MS. with the letters explaining it, which was published in *The Athenaeum* of May 8, 1909 by Mr. W. H. Hutton. Nor does he seem to be aware that Charles Edward was actually reconciled to the Church of England. These points, however, are little more than side issues. The biography of Deacon himself, with its tragic issues in the '45, is told as sympathetically as thoroughly. The book should do something to revive an interest in a body which is found the more attractive the more it is studied.

1. *The Rise and Development of Presbyterianism in Scotland.* By Lord Balfour of Burleigh. (Cambridge University Press. 1911.) 1*s.* net.
2. *The Scottish Pastor.* By Rev. George Anderson, B.D., Minister of Renfrew. (William Blackwood and Sons. 1911.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.
3. *History of the Lay Claims under the Scottish Bishops,* 1789–1905. By the Very Rev. George T. S. Farquhar, M.A., Dean of St. Andrews, Dunkeld and Dunblane. (Dumfries: The Scottish Chronicle Office. 1911.) 4*s.*

This is a group of three minor works on Scottish ecclesiastical matters. The attachment of Lord Balfour to the Church of Scotland, in which for many years he has been convener of the General Assembly's Committee on Church Interests, is so well known that a short account from his pen of Scottish Presbyterianism will be received with more than ordinary attention. And the fact that the new Bishop of Aberdeen, who has himself compiled a text-book on the Scottish Episcopal Church, was consulted in matters where the fortunes of that Church were necessarily involved in the story will be a sufficient guarantee to English Churchmen that every effort has been made to avoid injustice to prelacy. The volume forms one of the Cambridge 'Manuals of Science and Literature.'

The Scottish Pastor is a manual of pastoral theology compiled for the use of divinity students in the Established Church. It is an evidence of the growing attention which is

bestowed by that communion upon the practical work of the ministry in all its branches, and of willingness to learn from the experience of other religious bodies as well as from its own the difficult art of the spiritual herdsman. The eight chapters, of which it is composed, are based on 'a course of lectures which the author gave by authority of the General Assembly in the Divinity Halls of the four Scottish Universities.'

Those who are acquainted with the inner history of the Scottish Episcopal Church are aware of the fact that no community has been more prolific, in proportion to its size, of pamphlets and other documents illustrating the movements which have taken place within its borders. The *History of the Lay Claims* is the laborious effort of one, who is himself a diarist, to bring together in a compact form, which for the future will obviate the need of research, all that has been spoken, written, or transacted with respect to the admission of laymen to a share in the government of the Episcopal Church. Mr. Farquhar's work will always be useful for the guidance of future developments in his own Church and, to a more limited extent, in others.

VII.—Biography and General Literature.

A Memoir of Edward Charles Wickham, Dean of Lincoln. By Lonsdale Ragg, B.D., Prebendary of Lincoln. (Edward Arnold. 1911.) *7s. 6d.* net.

It is a common complaint in the present day that biographies are too numerous, too hastily produced. But we think few people will regret the publication of this memoir. It has a character and an interest of its own. It does not tell an exciting story, for, though the late Dean lived a life of varied usefulness, a life always of strenuous service, there was little incident, little of dramatic import to record. It does not move in conspicuous fields, for Dr. Wickham had an instinctive dislike of all popular arts, and preferred to use his great gifts in quiet unnoticed ways, which were often only appreciated by those who were privileged to count themselves his friends. The task of the biographer, therefore, was no easy one. And the difficulty was increased by the fact that large departments of the life he was commissioned to describe presupposed an atmosphere which was unfamiliar and strange to the writer. It requires some imagination to reproduce the Winchester of the 'fifties, or the New College of the 'sixties, or even the Wellington of the 'seventies. Of course, the author was necessarily dependent in large measure on information

supplied to him by others. We believe that at first the idea was entertained of producing a composite memoir by various authors. We have no doubt that it was wise to abandon this idea. The memoir has, in the circumstances, a surprising note of unity; it is no mosaic. And it has the supreme merit of giving a portrait of the man, which is recognized as faithful and true by those who knew him. And after all it is the man, and not his doings, that is worth knowing.

The life, as described in this memoir, divides itself pretty clearly into four periods. There is, first, the period of training as schoolboy and as undergraduate; secondly, the strikingly successful period of fourteen years as Tutor at Winchester and at Oxford; thirdly, the chequered period of twenty years as Headmaster of Wellington; and, lastly, the sixteen years of general service to the Church in the Deanery of Lincoln. There is a special interest about each period, and in each there was a work of usefulness to be done, for which the Dean's powers and character were specially adapted. But it would probably be agreed that the period in which he won the most unqualified success, in which the work was most unreservedly congenial, was the second, the period of his Tutorship at Winchester and New College; it was probably that also in which he has left the most permanent mark on his own generation. In the Memoir justice, perhaps, is hardly done to the boldness of conception, the sobriety of judgement, the tact of management, with which he induced a Tory College to come forward as pioneer in University Reform. In New College he was acknowledged leader; and his leadership shewed him at his best, and shewed him also in his most characteristic light. He was always a reformer, but a reformer of conservative type. He had no sympathy with the view of some 'moderns,' who depreciate the value of college life, and exaggerate the importance of Professorial teaching. He was a profound believer in the pastoral functions of the College Tutor and in the maintenance of intimate relations between the tutors and the undergraduates. He was constantly on the river and in the cricket field: though he was anxious to make the College Tutorship a real career for life, he would have limited the number of married tutors, and by providing regular houses within the college walls would have had nearly all the tutors living in college and among the undergraduates. This part of his conception has been rejected by most of the colleges, and many may think that college discipline and college life have suffered in consequence. He himself lived in close intimacy with his

pupils, whether at Winchester or at Oxford. He was a supreme teacher, and the merit of his teaching was proved by the unusually large number of first classes obtained by his pupils between the years 1861 and 1873; but most of his pupils acknowledge that his helpfulness and influence were as great outside the lecture-room as inside it. Lastly, though as part of his Liberal toleration he persuaded the college to remit the obligation of compulsory attendance at chapel, both by his example and by his teaching he shewed that he regarded the daily religious service as the very foundation of the truest corporate life; and his sermons at New College, as elsewhere, were an acknowledged power for good. It is very charming to see the testimony borne to the influence of his preaching by those who heard him at Oxford, and Wellington, and Lincoln.

We have emphasized, in the first instance, the importance of this Oxford period, because it brought out most conspicuously the distinctive merits of the late Dean. But an interest, both psychological and historical, belongs also to the other three parts of this memoir. It is instructive in the boy's school days to see that same hatred for abuses, then undisciplined and unbalanced, which, when tempered by the experience of life, made the Dean a forceful advocate of many social reforms. And what can be more charming than those loving letters of his father, in which he mingles sympathy with correction in checking the rash impetuosity of his son? The slight glimpse of the father, given in Chapters I and II, explains in large measure the large-hearted wisdom and sympathy of the Liberal Dean.

If the Wellington period was less conspicuously successful, we do not feel sure that it did not, more than any other portion of his life, bring into play the strong elements of Dean Wickham's character—his straight judgement, his independent courage, his constancy of purpose through evil report and good report. It was for Wellington a transition period. The school, only created fifteen years before, had to pass from the stern rule of its autocratic founder to the free self-government of a settled public school. The Headmaster's difficulties were largely increased at one time by unaccountable recurrence of serious illness, and throughout by the fact that politically and sentimentally he was not in sympathy with the prevailing military atmosphere. Probably the selection of Wellington College as the sphere for his maturer energies was due to the belief that his physical health would profit, as indeed it did profit largely, by the breezy freshness of the Berkshire Downs; on other grounds,

Wellington might perhaps not have been the field of his choice. That he carried the college successfully through a critical period, that he won the confidence and affection of his colleagues and senior boys, and left the school morally and intellectually more firmly established than he found it, was evidence of a strong personality, gifted with much quiet determination and clearness of view. The picture given in this memoir of the Wellington Headmastership is obviously true and life-like, and therefore full of interest.

In later life he found the opportunity, as Dean of Lincoln, of taking a forward part in wider Church life, when, as the Archbishop of Canterbury says, 'he contributed wise and suggestive counsels with singular grace and power.' The important part he took in endeavouring to find a solution of the educational problem, the influence he exercised in Convocation, where he spoke rarely but always with marked effect, his exceptional value in all committee work, the impressiveness of his preaching in the Cathedral and before the University are fitly emphasized in this memoir. Of his more intimate service in Lincoln itself, among the chapter, in the city, and in the diocese, we are told too little. This part of the book is somewhat disappointing. For we seem to have heard that the Dean did singularly valuable work in bringing various sections of society and of opinion together, and inspiring them with something of his own high purposes. Coming to the Deanery in 1894, with a reputation for views, both political and ecclesiastical, which were distasteful to nearly all the inner circle, he succeeded by his sincerity and fairness in winning not only the respect, but also the confidence of all. This was as creditable to those on the Lincoln Hill, who from the Bishop downwards recognized from the first his high qualifications for his office, as it was to the Dean himself.

The story, then, of the Dean's life, as told in this memoir, has its quiet and scholarly interest. But after all it is the man himself whom we want to know. And the reader of these pages has no difficulty in knowing him. Yet, he was not easy to know. 'His temperament,' as the Archbishop says, 'was not of the sort which readily evokes the enthusiasm of the ordinary observer.' His manner was apparently cold and unexpansive; he was an unwilling, and somewhat halting speaker; he abhorred the arts which win popularity; there was always, at least till later life, an inner and an outer circle of his friends. But all knew him to be true and staunch and independent in the defence of what he saw to be the right; all admired 'the forceful and

finished diction of the great classical scholar, who was also a master of the purest English'; all recognized the unselfishness and largeness of his aims; all acknowledged the persistency with which, in spite of weak health, he gave himself to the service of the common good; and those who had the privilege of being admitted to his close intimacy knew that they had in him one of the warmest and most constant of friends, one whose counsel was as wise as his criticism was penetrating—one in whom, 'behind and below the gifts and graces of the cultured Churchman,' they always found 'a clear, untroubled depth of personal piety and religious earnestness.'

1. *The Life of William Robertson Smith.* By J. SUTHERLAND BLACK and GEORGE CHRYSTAL. (A. and C. Black. 1912.) 15*s.* net.

2. *Lectures and Essays of William Robertson Smith.* Edited by J. SUTHERLAND BLACK and G. CHRYSTAL. (A. and C. Black. 1912.) 10*s.* net.

THESE volumes, well illustrated, and printed with the 'fair page' of which Messrs. A. and C. Black possess the secret, are a welcome memorial of a good man.

William Robertson Smith died in his 48th year. He had never had good health, and he endured something very like persecution in the Church of his birth. But he won friends and never lost an old friend. He left Scotland, but he came to Cambridge, and he was honoured far and wide by the greatest hearts and intellects of his day. His new ideas never shocked his parents, and the one estrangement which really matters in religious controversy did not touch the peace of that family. His father, Dr. William Pirie Smith, Free Church Minister of Keig and Tough, was a remarkable man. One of the felicities of Robertson Smith's lot was the friendship of Sir George Reid, and the first thing which should be looked at in this biography is Sir George's sketch of his father's head in three positions. Wise, kindly, strong, and very Scottish is the face. It accounts for the charm and richness and originality of the discipline of the Manse, which is described so vividly in the first chapter. Here, with his other pupils, Dr. Smith taught the brothers, William and George, and from thence sent them brilliantly to Aberdeen. There triumphs awaited them, but also severe labour and many privations. On the younger brother these told all too soon. 'On the 6th of April (1866) George left Aberdeen

with every honour his University could heap upon him. On the 11th of the same month he was seized with a vomiting of blood, and on the 27th he was dead.' William went in the autumn of that year to the New College in Edinburgh, where he was a pupil of A. B. Davidson, and that very different master in Hebrew studies 'Rabbi Duncan.' Of Duncan the biographers have given one of those terse character sketches in which they excel.

'His fame among the present generation depends rather on the piety of posterity than on any tangible surviving performance of his own. His striking spiritual vicissitudes, his extensive, if somewhat desultory erudition, the high flavour of intellectual eccentricity which pervaded his life and conversation, delighted, and at times overawed, his contemporaries . . . His love of learning was an affair of the heart, a passion which haunted him to the end, and which he indulged with something of the zest and persistency which belongs to the enjoyment of culpable and illicit things.'

Davidson's influence is thus described:

'The Higher Criticism was still in leading strings and hedged about with forms and fears, but at least it existed, and through the teaching of Davidson it at once passed, such as it was, into the mind of Smith. The resulting ferment was not long in beginning, and developments of great consequence in Church History ensued.'

But he was to learn more of this from his visits to Germany, the second of which took place in 1869, when he was delighted with Ritschl's teaching on the Visible Church: 'The Church is before the individual, it is in the Church that God's grace works, the development of the individual Christian takes place in the Church, and is conditioned by the Church.' These thoughts, which were not new to him, are elaborated in the Aberdeen Lecture (1872) on 'The Critical Study of the Psalter,' and they help to explain the obstinacy with which he presently fought for his position in his own Church; he would not believe that the Church into which he had been baptized would prove too narrow for a full intellectual life to thrive in. As to that intellectual life, a good passage is quoted from one of his undergraduate diaries; it expresses his maturer conviction as well as his younger mind, and it shews how naturally he would fraternize in later days with Cambridge thought.

'Intellectual culture, say some, is apt to make a man less spiritual. This supposes the spiritual part of the mind to be a peculiar faculty. In fact the emotional is meant. But a man may as readily err by

trusting his own emotions as by trusting his own intellect. Spirituality is not the development of one part of the mind, but the development of the whole mind in a special direction.'

In 1870 Robertson Smith returned to Aberdeen as Professor of Hebrew. He was soon 'engaged in the constant preparation for his work and the endless study of his subject . . . As a Hebraist he made rapid progress, but as his erudition grew, he seemed to sacrifice nothing of the interest in universal knowledge which is the most remarkable feature of his career.' This interest was presently to be fostered by his work as Editor of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 'When rallied' in later days 'about his omniscience, he would retort . . . that he was among the few men who had read through the ninth edition of the Encyclopædia.' More important, however, is his concentration in spite of these wide interests on his proper subject. Hebrew taught and studied, as he taught and studied, led to Semitic philology on a large scale, and produced at last those two great monuments of his scholarship, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, and *The Religion of the Semites*. Yet, though these are his monumental works, the mark he left on his generation is chiefly seen in the deepened interest in the Old Testament which grew from his Lectures on *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, and *The Prophets of Israel*, from the impulse which circled out of those Lectures and the controversy which was their immediate occasion, and most of all from the spiritual earnestness with which he transmuted criticism—on the whole, as his opponents not untruly said, a borrowed criticism—into life. His critical perception grew by degrees; his faith, not simply in God, but in God through Holy Scripture, deepened with the growth. He never really faced the whole difficulty of the critical position; it is doubtful whether he would have done so, had he lived to see its further developments. This matters little. That difficulty, like other difficulties in the machinery of faith, never can be removed. Others arise to deal with it more ruthlessly or with greater subtlety. No small part of Robertson Smith's power to change the habit of his generation lay in his being a prophet as much as he was a thinker. As a boy, his biographers say, he approached questions from too purely an intellectual standpoint. Perhaps Rabbi Duncan did more for him than he knew. Certainly the spell of the Manse remained upon him. He stood for the historical method in the study of Scripture, but the multitude accepted his commendation because he also believed that 'just as it requires a historic sense to

understand profane history, it requires a spiritual sense to understand sacred history.'

Two contributions to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* brought the crisis of his career. The article on 'Bible' roused the hierarchy of his Church against him. The story is told at great length in this biography, but the interest justifies it. After a long fight he was let off with a reprimand, promising to be more careful in his future utterances. Unfortunately the article on 'Hebrew Language and Literature,' though written long before, appeared shortly after the promise was given. This was again turned against him, and after another contest he was removed from his chair. It was not the Scottish Church, nor even the Free Church, as a whole, that effected this. The scholars, the moderate parish ministers, were on his side; his University refused to condemn him. And the weight of instructed lay opinion that was behind him would have made such action impossible in the less hierarchical Church of England. Impossible even then; still more so now. Dr. Black and Mr. Chrystal seem to think that though the date of Deuteronomy is no longer a dangerous subject, modern critical views of the Synoptic problem, or of the Johannine writings, are still forbidden to ministers of the Free Church. We think of Dr. Moffat's books, or of *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, and wonder whether they are not found in manses; in English rectories they are quite at home.

As the trial dragged on, Robertson Smith had shewn one sign of weariness. The Chair of Mathematics at Glasgow had become vacant. It was suggested to him that he should stand for election, and at last he did. That he should have been proposed as a candidate shews how deep his mathematical studies had been, but he accepted defeat as a sign that he should 'stick to his own work, and go back to the East.' He did so literally; for even while the trouble was hanging over him he made his second journey to Arabia. In his 'Enterprizing eleven days' excursion to Tâif' he wore the Arab dress, and there is a photograph of him (opp. p. 336) as 'Abdullah Effendi,' in which his keen, spiritual face is very beautiful. His account of this 'Journey in the Hejâz' is printed in the volume of Lectures and Essays. It is of course far above the average of travellers' sketches, but, after Doughty, it seems thin. Nevertheless it finds a proper place in this volume, which is chiefly valuable as a complement and illustration of the Life. The volume contains indeed much that is remarkable. There

are the papers on the controversy concerning Mathematics and Philosophy, which shew Robertson Smith as an apparently profound mathematician, and afford a glimpse of the larger intellectual world of Edinburgh—not unwelcome, since so much of the biography is devoted to the more confined interests of the Free Church. There are also some theological papers which are written with care, and shew something of his characteristic brilliancy: 'The Poetry of the Old Testament' is such a one. Less brilliant, but even more characteristic, is the Lecture on 'The Critical Study of the Psalter,' for this represents that influence which is, after all, his greatest legacy to his generation, the influence of the teacher of spiritual life, who is a critic that he may be a teacher. Others are less mature, and in themselves of comparatively slight account. But in connexion with the Life they are of great account, for they illustrate his development. Neither the Essays without the Life, nor the Life without the Essays, can be fairly estimated. Taken together they form an admirable piece of biography.

Having lost his position in the Free Church, Robertson Smith was free to accept from Messrs. A. and C. Black appointment as Editor of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. He lived to complete this work, and in the month before he died he wrote a letter to Dr. Black renouncing his own hope of partaking in that second great project of his publishers, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, but advising them to co-operate with Dr. Cheyne. This letter inaugurates the second stage of Biblical criticism in England: a stage marked by some vagaries, but representing in the main the healthy freedom of open minds, confederated in the search for truth, with less anxiety than their predecessors for immediate certainty or temporary edification. This fragment of a letter from Dr. Cheyne shews the new spirit:

> 'I am very anxious about this; we have to think of the future, and good as the so-called "moderate" scholars are, or promise to be, yet could "moderate" scholarship exist without a more courageous style of work? And can all students be expected to acquiesce in what must be, more or less, Church criticism? I am even more anxious about the fate of the N.T. than about that of the O.T.'

Cambridge shares with Messrs. Black the good fortune of sustaining Robertson Smith's merit after his check in Scotland. On the Revision Committee of the English Bible he extended his friendships in Cambridge, and that was partly the cause of

his election on January 1, 1883, to the Lord Almoner's Readership in Arabic. Thus began an honourable and, it may be believed, a very happy evening to this brief and stormy life. Certainly he was admired, trusted, and greatly loved in Cambridge; both as a teacher and as Librarian of the University Library he did good work; and at Christ's College, of which he was a Fellow, his memory is cherished. The only fault to be found with this part of his biographers' task is, that it is too short. Naturally they have less to say about his relations with England than with Scotland; in one small point they make a foreigner's mistake; his competitor for the post of librarian was not 'afterwards Bishop of Lincoln.' Yet these chapters are short only in proportion to the rest of the story, and they are very tender and beautiful. At the end the authors sum his character with that facility of expression which marks their style. He was a good man who refused to sacrifice either his faith or his reason; a patient, diligent scholar who knew that brilliancy must be 'guarded at every step by the closest scientific study.' And he was a delightful companion, the best man in the world for a good talk. From boyhood to the end his effervescent talk is noticed, but the most beautiful example is contained in the account of the trial on the 'Amended Libel.'

'The Rev. John Stephen, an aged and much respected member of the court, had stated that if he could be satisfied as to Smith's views of the 51st Psalm and the later portion of the prophecies of Isaiah, he "would give him the benefit of the doubt" . . . What took place can never be forgotten . . . In responding to the evidently honest appeal which had been made, he walked right along to where Mr. Stephen was sitting, and as the young Professor stood by the old man's knee he proceeded to explain to him, as if in confidence, and with manifest delight, the various reasons which had led him to hold the view to which his aged friend had referred. He seemed to realize it as a sacred and very pleasant duty to do his best to meet the difficulties felt by Mr. Stephen. The explanation or exposition was a marvellous success. As the Professor, without hesitation and with the greatest ease and alacrity, proceeded to give the desired explanation, one did not know which to admire most—the rapid flow of thought fitly expressed, the earnestness of purpose, the intellectual resource, the firm grasp of the subject, and the spiritual perception in dealing with the Word of God, or the fine tone and kindly manner in which the whole was addressed to the venerable minister.'

Βασιλεὺς Βασιλεῖ: this is more than talk. It is the spirit of the Manse, free, disciplined, faithful, bringing a father and a son of the Manse together, and breathing from soul to soul of them.

Autobiographic Memoirs. By FREDERIC HARRISON. Two volumes. With portraits. (Macmillan. 1912.) 30*s.* net.

MR. HARRISON'S *Memoirs* cover a period of eighty years and contain some varied elements of interest. The history of a human soul is always interesting, and this human document is frankly open, and the story is unaffectedly told. Much is said in the first volume, which tells us how ordinary people lived when there were no railways, no telegraphs, no penny postage, and no cheap press, in the days of dear bread, and wooden sailing ships, and muzzle-loading guns; when three weeks' sailing was needed to reach Halifax and when it took three months to get to Calcutta; when Parliament, Universities and Corporations were hedged in with limitations and tests, and the three-volumed novel cost a guinea and a half. And further Mr. Harrison has known a great many very interesting persons in the chief departments of public life, and has written an enormous amount of comment upon public affairs—political, social, literary, and religious—which he has freely used in quotations in these pages. And finally he surveys the spread of Positivism in this country, which he has himself done so much to promote, and which he regards as the main work of his life. Born in 1831, Mr. Harrison went up to Oxford as a scholar of Wadham in 1849, and he speaks of his first experience of college life as most depressing. His account of the place is saddening, and reminds us of Gibbon's contempt at Magdalen. He thought that the system was very wooden, the formal lectures bored him, except those of Richard Congreve. The Warden seemed to him an obsolete formalist, a miserly, clumsy pedant; the sub-warden little better (though when he knew him later on he found him to be a very worthy and kindly gentleman), and the rest of the dons uninteresting. The commoners were somewhat raw lads, without interest in art or knowledge of the world, who regarded anyone as mad who had individual taste or who was careless of the conventions. Mr. Harrison had not gone up to Oxford with any particular reverence for the genius of the place, for, although he went with some remnants of boyish Toryism and orthodoxy, he had already lost all faith in its theological and political traditions, and he left it as a republican, a democrat, and a free-thinker. His faith gradually melted away, and in 1855 he had an interview with Comte, sought for by him as a pupil of Congreve, an interview which was followed by increasing disposition towards

Positivism. As another incentive to hopefulness we may turn to a picture of Church life half a century ago. In a long and passionate letter to his mother Mr. Harrison felt as sure as he was of anything that 'this Church cannot last a generation,' but in inserting the letter in the Memoirs he heartily admits that an immense rally of the Church has since taken place. Yet he holds that in substance his condemnation of the Establishment remains still not unjust. In 1860, when he went to see York Minster, he saw a choirman walking up the church in his hat, and asking a companion across the nave whether he had seen *Punch* that week. He describes the service as scandalous. The most significant parts of the book are not these earlier descriptions of the Church in slumber, nor even the slight reminiscences of so many well-known persons that are included in the Memoirs, and make them well worth reading. The chief interest, and Mr. Harrison would no doubt be glad to have it so, lies in his material and spiritual retrospect, in the survey which one takes who has so unreservedly devoted himself to the 'service of man.' He feels bound to point to the growing disbelief in the family as the most dangerous symptom of this age. The supreme and dominant fact which arrests his attention is that we have suffered our religion to slide from us, and that, in effect, our age has no abiding faith in any religion at all. For him Positivism is a basis of life both personal and social, and he is able to close his quiet life in resignation, peace, and hope. But, as Mr. Balfour pointed out to the Church Congress in 1888, Positivism brings no such message of hope to the multitude.

> 'It cannot penetrate and vivify the inmost life of ordinary humanity. There is in it no nourishment for ordinary human souls, no comfort for ordinary human sorrow, no help for ordinary human weakness. Not less than the crudest irreligion does it leave us men divorced from all communion with God, face to face with the unthinking energies of Nature which gave us birth, and into which, if supernatural religion be indeed a dream, we must after a few fruitless struggles be again resolved.'

Later Letters of Marcus Dods, D.D. Selected and Edited by his Son, MARCUS DODS, M.A. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1912.) 6*s*.

THIS is a sequel to the *Early Letters* which we recently noticed, and covers the years from 1895 to 1909. From 1889 to 1908 Dr. Dods held the chair of New Testament Exegesis in New College, Edinburgh, and, although in 1907 he became Principal of the College, he was prevented by his illness from the perform-

ance of nearly all of the duties of the post. He died in 1909. The letters are full of thoughtfulness and kindly feeling addressed to a great variety of correspondents, and of interest to the students of Presbyterianism, from the Free Church point of view. Writing to Dr. W. R. Nicoll in 1906, Dr. Dods said: 'Our ecclesiastical affairs here are in a disgusting mess, no one satisfied with anything.' Did he think of Tertullian's line '*schisma est illis unitas*'?

Periodicals.

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McGlothlin: 'Tschackert *Die Entstehung der lutherischen u. der reformierten Kirchenlehre*' (laudatory); 'W. A. Curtis *History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith.*' W. T. Whitley: 'Burrage *The Early English Dissenters* (1550–1641).' E. Y. Mullins: 'Huizinga *Authority.*' W. O. Carver: 'DuBose *The Reason of Life*'; 'Royce *William James and other Essays on the Philosophy of Life*'; 'F. W. Butler *The Permanent Elements in Christianity*'; 'Lanier *The Church Universal.*' B. H. De Ment: 'Franks *Man, Sin and Salvation.*'

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The Expositor (N.S. Nos. 16–18. April–June 1912. Hodder and Stoughton.) H. A. A. Kennedy: 'St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions, I. Prolegomena' (May. II. 'Jewish Affinities with the Mystery-Religions'). Sir W. M. Ramsay: 'Memories of Principal Fairbairn.' A. S. Peake: 'Principal A. M. Fairbairn.' W. B. Selbie: 'Modern Christian Apologetic.' D. S. Margoliouth: 'Note on the Elephantine Papyri' (contends that Papyrus 8 is a modern forgery). Sir W. M. Ramsay: 'The Teaching of Paul in Terms of the Present Day' (continued May–June). J. B. Mayor: 'Further Studies in the Epistle of St. James, chiefly suggested by Dr. Hort's posthumous Edition,' I. (II. June). May. A. Harnack (translated by H. Ramsay): 'The Apostle Paul's Hymn of Love (1 Cor. xiii.) and its Religious Historical Significance,' I. (II. June). B. D. Eerdmans: 'The Ark of the Covenant.' J. Oman: 'Personality and Grace. V. A Gracious Relationship' (June. VI. 'Faith'). H. M. Wiener: 'The Position of the Tent of Meeting.' June. J. Moffatt: 'The Theological Use of the N.T.' J. G. James: 'The Final Destiny of the Evil and of the Good.' T. K. Cheyne: 'Dr. Gray's New Book on Isaiah.'

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R. M. Pope: 'Studies in Pauline Vocabulary. "Of the Heavenly Places."' J. C. Todd: '"Do this in Remembrance of Me."' A. Thom: 'Ex. xx. 7.' A. S. Weatherhead: 'The Healing of one Deaf and Dumb, Mark vii. 31–37' (not born deaf). E. P. Rice: 'Gen. xli. 24.' W. McCulloch: 'The Pounds and the Talents.' E. Nestle: '"The Titles of the Psalms."' 'Stein *Ruins of Desert Cathay*.' 'J. Seth *English Philosophers and Schools of Philosophy*.' June. E. Stock: 'Prof. Hogg on the Kingdom of God.' A. C. Haddon: 'Ethics among Primitive Peoples.' J. Hunter Smith: 'The Parable of the Mustard Seed.' T. H. Weir: 'Matt. v. 20.' 'Williamson *The Mafulu*.' 'Bosanquet *The Principle of Individuality and Value*.' 'A. C. Benson *The Child of the Dawn*.'

The Churchman (Vol. XXVI. Nos. 76–8. April–June 1912. R. Scott). Lieut.-Col. W. H. Turton: 'The Psalm of the Crucifixion' (Ps. xxii). D. R. Fotheringham: 'Astronomical Evidence for the Date of the Crucifixion' (April 3, A.D. 33: our Lord's Birth, 5 B.C.). A. C. Downer: 'The Meaning of Christ's Charge to Mary Magdalene in St. John. xx. 17.' A. Plummer: 'The Continental Reformation. VII. Zwingli and Calvin.' (May. VIII. 'Calvin in France and Switzerland.') W. H. Poland: 'The Prayer-Book and the Needs of the Day.' Mrs. A. Carus-Wilson: 'A Lesson from the Great Conferences of the Church.' 'The Missionary World' (*continued* May, June). A. R. Whately: 'D. Harford *Comfortable Words for Christ's Lovers* (by the Lady Julian of Norwich, A.D. 1373).' May. G. S. Streatfeild: 'The Divine Education of Man. A Study in Ethical Progress.' C. Courtenay: 'Religion and Life.' M. B. Whiting: 'The Religion of Browning.' S. C. Lowry: 'Our Sunday Services. Are they too long?' D. Harford: 'A. Whyte *Newton's "Cardiphonia" with an Appreciation*.' J. K. Mozley: 'C. C. J. Webb *Problems in the Relations of God and Man*.' 'Tuckett *The Evidence for the Supernatural*.' 'R. L. Ottley *The Rule of Faith and Hope*.' June. H. M. d'Aubigné: 'Rome and Democracy as illustrated by the Story of the Sillon.' Right Rev. T. W. Drury (Bishop of Ripon): 'Recreations.' H. A. Wilson: 'Erastianism, Past and Present.' V. M. Methley: 'Arthur Young, Traveller and Preacher.' W. G. Walshe: '"These from the Land of Sinim."' E. W. Maunder: 'Astronomical Evidence for the Date of the Crucifixion' (Reply to Mr. D. R. Fotheringham). C. H. K. Boughton: 'Derrick *Primitive Christian Eschatology*.' C. F. Russell: 'Gore *The Question of Divorce*'; '*Church Unity*.'

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laudatory). F. P. Duffy: 'The Life of Cardinal Newman.' W. E. Campbell: 'Sir Thomas More and his Time,' III. H. P. Russell: 'The Note of Apostolicity.' R. J. Keeffe: 'The "Guardians of Liberty."' 'Fillion *Les Étapes du Rationalisme dans ses Attaques contre les Évangiles et la Vie de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ.*' (The late) Lionel Johnson: 'Gibbon's *Roman Empire* as a Provocative towards Catholicism.' May. E. Hickey: 'Catholic Principles and Literature.' W. E. Campbell: 'Novels of Innocence' (Miss Viola Meynell, *Martha Vine* and *Cross-in-Hand Farm*). C. F. Aiken: 'The Doctrine of the Fathers of the Church on the Right of Private Property.' M. Turmann: 'The Social Apostolate in France,' II. 'Batiffol *The Credibility of the Gospel.*' 'Mgr. B. Ward *The Eve of Catholic Emancipation.*' (The late) Lionel Johnson: 'The Ambitious Church.' June. T. J. Gerrard: 'Eugenics and Catholic Teaching.' W. Elliott: 'The Might of the Inward Man.' J. J. Walsh: 'Lord Lister.' A. T. Sadlier: 'The Poet of the Blessed Sacrament: Don Pedro Calderon.' P. Robinson: 'Jörgensen *St. Francis of Assisi.*' 'Halifax *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders.*'

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The Quarterly Review (No. 431. April 1912. John Murray). C. G. Robertson: 'The Younger Pitt.' 'Beau Nash and Bath.' C. H. Herford: 'The Elizabethan Age in Recent Literary History.' J. A. R. Marriott: 'Cavour and the Making of Italy.' Col. W. Wood: 'The St. Lawrence.' J. C. Bailey: 'Thackeray and the English Novel.' R. E. Prothero: 'Agricultural Labourers and Landlords.' 'John Henry Newman.' 'The Wonderful Adventures of Dr. Cook.' H. Vivian: 'Garden Cities, Housing and Town-planning.' T. G. Bonney: 'The Face of the Earth.' Sir V. Chirol: 'The Chinese Revolution.' Sir A. B. Markham, M.P.: 'The Coal Strike.' 'The Church in Wales.'

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The Economic Review (Vol. XXII. No. 2. April 1912. Rivingtons). H. W. Wolff: 'Small Holdings and Land Banks.' D. A. Barker: 'The Public Debt of India.' N. Whatley: 'Public Opinion and War.' Notes

and Memoranda. J. L. Dougan: 'Legislation, Parliamentary Inquiries, and Official Returns.' W. W. Carlile: 'Jevons *Theory of Political Economy*, 4th edit.' W. M. Geldart: 'Sir A. Clay, Bart., *Syndicalism and Labour*' (6 pp.). E. Cannon: 'McKillop and Atkinson *Economics, descriptive and theoretical*' (critical). R. E. Viewer: 'Gubbins *The Progress of Japan*, 1853–71' (5 pp.). C. E. Rolt: 'C. F. Rogers *Circumstances or Character*.' W. H. Fyfe: '*Christian Social Union Handbooks*.'

The Contemporary Review (No. 556–8. April–June 1912. London: 14 Henrietta Street, W.C.) A. T. (Lady) Ritchie: 'Alfred Stevens.' P. T. Forsyth: 'Liberty and its Limits in the Church.' Hon. S. Coleridge: 'The Royal Commission on Vivisection.' H. Ellis: 'Individualism and Socialism.' E. H. Parker: 'The Manchus.' F. E. Hobson: 'A Mission to Mothers.' Comte de Soissons: 'Jean-Arthur Rimbaud.' E. C. Dauncey: 'Easter in a Philippine Town.' 'The Mirror of Heaven.' '*Cambridge History of English Literature*, VIII.' 'Benson *The Leaves of the Tree*.' 'Porter *The Full Recognition of Japan*.' 'Lloyd *The Creed of Half Japan*.' 'Nüchter *Albrecht Dürer* (E. T.).' 'F. Harrison *Autobiographical Memoirs*.' 'F. E. Walton *The Logos Doctrine in Greek and Hebrew Thought*.' 'Gonner *Common Land and Inclosure*.' May. M. G. Fawcett, H. S. Holland, E. T. Cook: 'William Stead.' T. C. Taylor, M.P.: 'Profit-sharing and Labour Co-partnership.' J. H. Harris: 'Portuguese Slavery.' J. Rendel Harris: 'The Red Robes of the Dioscuri.' W. H. Dawson: 'German Social Insurance and Poor Relief.' C. R. D. Biggs: 'Comity, Concord and Communion.' H. Aronson: 'Rural Housing. A Lesson from Hertfordshire.' J. E. G. de Montmorency: 'The Mystery of Shakespeare's Sonnets' (continued June). 'Bury *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (802–867).' 'Foord *The Byzantine Empire*.' 'Macfall *History of Painting*, I.' 'Sir E. Clarke *The Epistles of St. Paul*.' G. P. G[ooch]: 'Halifax *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders*.' 'Whetham *Heredity and Society*.' June. Very Rev. W. H. Fremantle (Dean of Ripon): 'Père Hyacinthe.' L. M. Phillipps: 'The Gothic Ideal.' J. Warschauer: 'Liberty, Limited. A Rejoinder to Dr. Forsyth' (in April). N. Jarintzoff: 'The Legend of Alexander I and the Hermit, Theodor Kouzmitch.' 'Stein *Ruins of Desert Cathay*.' G. P. G[ooch]: 'Meakin *Hannah More*.' 'Sollas *Ancient Hunters*.' 'R. F. Quinton *The Modern Prison Curriculum*.' 'T. Holmes *Psychology and Crime*.' 'H. S. R. Elliot *Modern Science and the Illusions of Prof. Bergson*.' 'Shaen *William Shaen*.' 'E. Godfrey *The New Forest*' ('an exquisite book.')

The Hindustan Review (Vol. XXV. Nos. 151–4. March-June 1912. Allahabad: 7, Elgin Road). H. H. Mann: 'The Untouchable Classes of an Indian City. The Economic Position,' I. (II. April). R. C. Bonnerjee: 'Indian Women. A Study,' II. R. Pillai: 'The Evolution of Thought in Ancient Greece.' 'Maharani of Baroda *The Position of Women in Indian Life*.' 'C. E. Stewart *Through Persia in Disguise*.' April. R. Rajam Aizar: 'Female Education in India. A Suggestion for its Improvement.' 'Durrani': 'Education in Afghanistan.' G. A. Chandavarkar: 'The Ethics of Manu.' 'Gupta *Romesh Chunder Dutt*.' A. K. Coomaraswamy: 'Glyn *Analysis of the Evolution of Musical Form*' (*continued* May–June). May–June. S. Koul: 'The Development of the Silk Industry in Kashmir.' J. Nath Sen: 'The English in the Court of the King of Ceylon.' C. Tirumilayyar Naidu: 'The Social Position of Women in Ancient India (A Study in the Ramayana).' K. L. Oza: 'A Land of Schools.' H. Subba Rao: 'Education and its Ideals,' II. K. Vyasa Row: 'The late Mr. Stead. A Personal Reminiscence and Appreciation.'

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien (N.S. Vol. VII. No. 1. 1912. Paris: 20, rue du Regard.) B. Evetts: 'Un Prélat réformateur. Le patriarche Copte, Cyrille IV (1854–61).' S. Grébaut: 'Littérature éthiopienne

pseudo-clémentine. III. Traduction de Qalémentos.' N. A. Bees: 'Description d'un MS. du monastère de Barlaam (Météores) contenant les lettres et les chapitres de Nil d'Ancyre et de Maxime le Confesseur.' M. Chaine: 'Inventaire sommaire des MSS. éthiopiens de Berlin, acquis depuis 1878.' F. Nau: (1) 'Fragments de Mar Aba, disciple de S. Ephrem' (MSS. Brit. Mus. Addit. 17194, 14726); (2) 'Deux Notices relatives au Malabar et trois petits calendriers du Malabar, jacobite et musulman (textes grees et syriaques: d'après les MSS. Bodl. Or. 667 et Paris MS. syr. 25195 et suppl. grec 292); (3) 'Le Denier du culte juif à Eléphantine au Ve siècle avant notre ère.' J. Clédat: 'Le Temple de Zeus Cassios à Péluse.' M. Brière: 'Nau *Jean Rufus, évêque de Maïouma. Plérophories*'; 'Vicomte E. de Marsay *De l'Authenticité des livres d'Esther et de Judith.*'

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique (Vol. XIII. No. 2. April 1912. Louvain: 40, rue de Namur). A. d'Alès: 'Tertullien et Calliste. Le Traité de Tertullien *De Pudicitia*,' II. R. P. Galtier, S.J.: 'La Consignation dans les Églises d'Occident.' V. Brants: 'L'Économie politique et sociale dans les écrits de L. Lessius (1554–1623),' II. É. Tobac: 'Jacquier *Le N.T. dans l'Église Chrétienne*, I'; 'Harnack *Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte*'; 'Hausrath *Jesus u. die neutestamentlicher Schriftsteller.*' H. Coppieters: 'Flamion *Les Actes Apocryphes de l'Apôtre André*' (8 pp.) R. Maere: 'Diehl *Manuel d'art byzantin*' (6 pp.); 'Helbig-Brassinne *L'Art mosan jusqu' à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, II.' A. Villien: 'Vanderpol *Le Droit de guerre d'après les théologiens et les canonistes du moyen âge*' (a collection of texts). E. Vykoukal: 'Kuehnau *Elben-, Dämonen- u. Teufelsagen.*' A. Kempeneer: 'Stutz *Der Erzbischof von Mainz u. die deutsche Königswahl.*' M. Jacquin: 'Schnitzer *Savonarola.*' F. Callaey: 'Janssen *L'Allemagne et la Réforme*, VIII.' P. Delannoy: 'Tournier *La crise huguenote à Besançon au XVIe siècle.*' L. van der Essen: 'Mueller *Galileo Galilei.*' P. Demeuldre: 'Sevestre *L'Organisation du clergé paroissial à la veille de la révolution.*' J. Rambaud: 'Dudon *Lamennais et le Saint Siège* (1820–34).' A. de Ridder: 'Ollivier *L'Empire libéral.*' J. Forget: 'd'Herbigny *Un Newman russe. Vladimir Soloviev* (1853–1900).' L. Gougaud: 'Swete *The Ascended Christ.*'

Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses (Vol. III. No. 3. May–June 1912. Paris: É. Nourry). A. Loisy: 'Le Totémisme et l'Exogamie,' VI. A. Dulac: 'Bonizo, le *Libellus de sacramentis* et le *Decretum.*' E. C. Babut: 'S. Martin de Tours. IX. S. Martin abbé et thaumaturge.' A. Loisy: 'Boehl *Kananäer u. Hebräer.*'

Revue des Questions Historiques (Vol. XLVI. No. 182. April 1912. Paris: 5, rue Saint-Simon). A. d'Alès: 'La Réconciliation des "Lapsi" au temps de Dèce' (47 pp.). G. Constant: 'Les Evêques henriciens sous Henri VIII' (41 pp.). G. Saint-Yves: 'D'Alviella *Croyances, rites, institutions*' (7 pp.). L. Didier: Vignaud *Vie de Colomb*, II.' P. Allard: 'Guiraud *Histoire partiale, histoire vraie*, II' (Vol. I. is in its 20th edition). M. Besnier: 'Hogarth *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life*'; 'E. N. Gardiner *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*'; 'Sartiaux *Villes mortes d'Asie Mineure*'; 'Sagot *La Bretagne romaine.*' J. G[uiraud]: 'Amiel *La Bibliothèque publique de Carcassonne.*' E. Mangenot: 'Hertlein *Die Menschensohnfrage in letzem Stadium.*' M. de la Rocheterie: 'Pisani *L'Église de Paris pendant la Révolution*, IV.' J. Denais: 'Deniau-Chamard-Uzureau *Histoire de la guerre de la Vendée*, V–VI.' H. Cochin: 'Thureau-Dangin *Le Cardinal Vaughan.*'

Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie (Vol. XXXVI. No. 2. 1912. Innsbruck: F. Rauch). J. B. Nisius: 'Abhandlungen zur geschichte der *Vulgata* Sixtina,' II. N. Paulus: 'Der sogenannte Ablass von Schuld u. Strafe im späteren Mittelalter.' C. A. Kneller: 'Cyprians Schrift von der Einheit der Kirche.' F. Pangerl: 'Studien über Albert

den Grossen (1193–1280)' (42 pp.). J. Stufler: 'Wagner *Doctrina de gratia sufficiente.*' T. Spácil: 'Bukowski *Die Genugtuung für die Sünde nach der Auffassung der russischen Orthodoxie.*' H. Bruders: 'M. von Wulf *Ueber Heilige u. Heiligenverehrung in den ersten christlichen Jahrhunderten.*' A. Kröss: 'Eder *Die Reformations-vorschläge Kaiser Ferdinand I auf dem Konzil von Trient*, I.' A Merk: 'Bibelfragmente aus den Oxyrhynchus-Papyri.' O. Drinkwelder: 'Rom u. das maronitische Patriarchat von Antiochien.' W. Weth: 'Ein vortridentinisches Missale' (at Klagenfurt).

Theologisch Tijdschrift (Vol. XLVI. No. 3. 1912. Leiden: S. C. Van Doesburgh). C. Pekelharing: 'Zijn wonderen mogelijk?' J. van Wageningen: 'Minucius Felix een Modernist?' P. Zondervan: 'De Storm op het Galileesche Meer.' J. ten Hove: 'Het zout der aarde (Matt. 5. 13; Marc. 9. 50; Lucas 14. 34–5).' L. W. van Ravesteijn: [Ies. 7, 3, etc.]. K. Lake: 'Recent Literature on the Pauline Epistles.'

Teologisk Tidsskrift (Vol. III. No. 4. 1912. Köbenhavn: G. E. C. Gad). V. Lindegaard-Petersen: 'George Tyrrell.' I. V. Ammundsen: '"Sandhedens Regel" hos Irenaeos og Novatian,' II. H. Mosbech: 'Gressmann *Die Schriften des A.T.*' A. T. Jörgensen: 'Literatur om Luther.' K. Kayser: 'Apologetisk Literatur.'

The Church Missionary Review (Vol. LXIII. Nos. 756–8. April–June 1912. C.M.S.) Ven. A. E. Moule: 'George Evans Moule, D.D., Bishop.' P. I. Jones: 'The Coming of the King to Delhi,' II. S. H. Biddlecombe and W. A. Rice: 'Persia. Disturbed Conditions and Missionary Outlook.' Ven. T. J. Dennis: 'The Union Ibo Bible.' H. Pegg: 'The Evolution of a Great Idea.' 'H. G. Grey *Romans.*' 'Griffith Thomas *Romans i–v.*' 'Education and Mass Movements in India.' May. Right Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter: 'The Christian Outlook on the World.' Right Rev. J. Walmsley (Bishop of Sierra Leone): 'First Impressions of Sierra Leone.' H. U. Weitbrecht: 'The Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries.' E. Stock: 'Voices of Past Years,' II. 'Dowling *The Armenian Church.*' 'Mikhail *Copts and Moslems under British Control.*' June. R. S. Heywood: 'The Desirability of Synods in India and the Limits of Authority.' 'Zwemer *The Unoccupied Fields of Africa and Asia.*'

The East and the West (Vol. X. No. 38. April 1912. S.P.G.). E. W. Capen: 'Social Changes in the East and the Work of Missions.' H. B. Walton: 'Christianity and the Japanese Government. A Recent Development.' Right Rev. H. H. Montgomery: 'Missionary Societies and Boards of Missions.' A. Neve: 'The Need for Social Service in India.' W. A. Wickham: '"Robinson Crusoe" and Christian Missions.' R. E. Strahan: 'The Jews and the Christian Church.' A. F. Painter: 'The "Untouchables" of India and Christ.' 'Coming away from the Mission Field.' 'Longford *Japan of the Japanese.*' 'Hutton *Among the Eskimos of Labrador.*' 'C. W. J. Orr *The Making of N. Nigeria.*' 'Rennie *My Adventures among Southsea Cannibals.*'

Books Received.

The more important will be noticed in Articles and Short Notices as space permits.

Biblical and Kindred Studies.

Bevan, J. O.—*S. Paul in the Light of To-day.* Pp. 120. (H. R. Allenson.) 1*s.* 6*d.* net.

Box, G. H.—*The Ezra-Apocalypse, being Chapters* 3–14 *of the Book commonly known as* 4 *Ezra* (*or II Esdras*). Translated from a critically

revised Text, with Critical Introductions, Notes and Explanations; with a general Introduction to the Apocalypse, and an Appendix containing the Latin Text. Together with a Prefatory Note by W. SANDAY, D.D. Pp. 14* + lxxviii + 388. (Pitman.) 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

BUDGE, E. A. W.—*Coptic Biblical Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt.* Pp. lxxxviii + 350. (British Museum and Longmans.) With Ten Plates. 12*s.*

CLARKE, RIGHT HON. SIR EDWARD (K.C.).—*The Epistles of St. Paul.* The Authorised Version amended by the Adoption of such of the Alterations made in the Revised Version as are necessary for correcting material mistranslations, or making clear the Meaning of the inspired writer. Pp. vi + 200. (Smith, Elder.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

FOAKES-JACKSON, F. J.—*A Biblical History for Junior Forms (Old Testament).* Pp. xiv + 210. (Cambridge: W. Heffer.) 2*s.* 6*d.*

GARDNER, P.—*The Religious Experience of Saint Paul.* 'Crown Theological Library,' Vol. XXXIV. Pp. xvi + 264. (Williams and Norgate.) 5*s.* net.

HANDCOCK, P. S. P.—*Mesopotamian Archaeology: An Introduction to the Archaeology of Babylonia and Assyria.* Pp. xvi + 424. (Macmillan and P. Lee Warner.) 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

HERFORD, R. T.—*Pharisaism, its Aim and its Method.* 'Crown Theological Library,' Vol. XXXV. Pp. x + 340. (Williams and Norgate.) 5*s.* net.

JENNINGS, W.—*The Dramatic Poem of Job.* A Close Metrical Translation with Critical and Explanatory Notes. Pp. xx + 112. (Methuen.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

JOHNS, C. H. W.—*Ancient Assyria.* 'Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature.' Pp. viii + 176. (Cambridge University Press.) 1*s.* net. See Short Notice.

MACALISTER, R. A. S.—*A History of Civilization in Palestine.* 'Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature.' Pp. viii + 140. (Cambridge University Press.) 1*s.* net.

MCINTOSH, J. S.—*A Study of Augustine's Versions of Genesis.* A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Department of Latin). Pp. x + 1310. (Chicago University Press. Cambridge University Press.) 3*s.* net.

MCNEILE, A. H.—*Deuteronomy, its Place in Revelation.* Pp. x + 136. (Longmans.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

MCNEILE, A. H.—*'Spirit' in Biblical Literature. An Outline of Bible-study.* Pp. 20. (S.P.C.K.) 3*d.*

POPE, H. (O. P.)—*The Scholastic View of Biblical Inspiration.* Pp. 52. (Rome: R. Garroni.) Reprinted from the *Irish Theological Quarterly*, July 1911, by the Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the Collegio Angelico, Rome.

PULLAN, L.—*The Gospels.* 'Oxford Library of Practical Theology.' Pp. x + 324. (Longmans.) 5*s.*

STEUART, R. H. J.—*The Book of Ruth.* A Literal Translation from the Hebrew with full grammatical Notes and Vocabularies. Pp. viii + 108. (D. Nutt.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net. See Short Notice.

WALLIS, L.—*Sociological Study of the Bible.* Pp. xxxvi + 308. (Chicago University Press. Cambridge University Press.) 6*s.* net.

WELCH, A. C.—*The Religion of Israel under the Kingdom.* The 'Kerr Lectures,' delivered in the United Free Church College, Glasgow, during session 1911–12. Pp. xvi + 306. (T. and T. Clark.) 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

Biblical and Theological Studies. By Members of the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary. Published in Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of the Seminary. Pp. viii + 634. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.) 3 dollars net.

The Epistle to the Hebrews : an Experiment in Conservative Revision. By Two Clerks. Pp. 42. (Cambridge University Press.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

The Parting of the Roads : Studies in the Development of Judaism and Early Christianity. By Members of Jesus College, Cambridge. With an Introduction by W. R. Inge, D.D. Edited by F. J. Foakes Jackson, D.D. Pp. xii + 348. (Arnold.) 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

Metaphysics and Philosophy of Religion.

Boutroux, É.—*Historical Studies in Philosophy.* Authorized Translation by F. Rothwell. Pp. xii + 336. (Macmillan.) 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

Boutroux, É.—*The Beyond that is Within, and other Addresses.* Translated by J. Nield. Pp. xvi + 138. (Duckworth.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

Cornford, F. M.—*From Religion to Philosophy : A Study in the Origins of Western Speculation.* Pp. xx + 276. (Arnold.) 10*s.* 6*d.* net. See Short Notice.

Schiller, F. C. S.—*Formal Logic : a Scientific and Social Problem.* Pp. xviii + 424. (Macmillan.) 10*s.* net.

Apologetics.

Carpenter, S. C.—*A Parson's Defence.* Pp. xvi + 260. (Longmans.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

Case, S. J.—*The Historicity of Jesus : A Criticism of the Contention that Jesus never lived, a Statement of the Evidence for His Existence, an Estimate of His Relation to Christianity.* Pp. viii + 352. (Chicago University Press. Cambridge University Press.) 6*s.* net.

Gray, A. R.—*An Introduction to the Study of Christian Apologetics.* With a concluding Chapter by W. Lloyd Bevan. 'Sewanee Theological Library.' Pp. xiv + 238. (Sewanee, Tennessee : University [of the South] Press.) 1 dollar 50 post paid.

Oakley, G. R.—*What is 'Christian Science'?* Pp. 30. (S.P.C.K.) 2*d.*

Skrine, J. H.—*Miracle and History : A Study of the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection.* Pp. 48. (Longmans.) 1*s.* net.

Vassall-Phillips. O. R.—*The Mustard Tree : An Argument on Behalf of the Divinity of Christ.* With a Preface by R. H. Benson and an Epilogue by Hilaire Belloc. Pp. xxxiv + 530. (Duckworth.) 5*s.* net.

Biblical and Doctrinal Theology.

Blunt, A. W. F.—*Faith and the New Testament.* Pp. viii + 116. T. and T. Clark.) 2*s.* net.

Burn, A. E.—*The Athanasian Creed.* 'Oxford Church Text Books.' Pp. iv + 114. (Longmans.) 1*s.* net.

Day, H. C. (S.J.)—*Marriage, Divorce, and Morality.* Pp. xvi + 76. (Burns and Oates.) 1*s.* 6*d.* net.

Digges La Touche, E.—*The Person of Christ in Modern Thought.* The First series of 'Donnellan Lectures' for the Year 1911–12. Pp. 420. (J. Clarke and Co.) 6*s.* net.

DuBose, W. P.—*Turning Points in my Life.* Pp. vi + 144. (Longmans.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

Lacey, T. A.—*The Pathway of Salvation.* Pp. 52. (S.P.C.K.) 6*d.*

O'Leary, De Lacy.—*The Sacrament of Holy Baptism.* Pp. 126. (S.P.C.K.) 2*s.*

Scott, M.—*The Christian Covenant.* Pp. vi + vi + 200. (George Allen.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net. By the Vicar of Castlechurch, Stafford.

Temple, W.—*The Kingdom of God.* A Course of Four Lectures delivered at Cambridge during the Lent Term, 1912. Pp. viii + 144. (Macmillan.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

Answer of the Archbishop of England to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII on English Ordinations. Addressed to the whole Body of Bishops of the Catholic Church in 1896 (and first published, 9th March,

1897). A Translation into English, reprinted with a Prefatory Note and an Historical Introduction by JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D., late Bishop of Salisbury. Pp. 48. (Longmans.) 1*s.* net.

Universalism. By A BELIEVER. Pp. vi + 104. (R. Scott). 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

PRACTICAL AND DEVOTIONAL THEOLOGY.

BICKERSTETH, C.—*The Ministry of Absolution: an Appeal for its more general Use with one Regard to the Liberty of the Individual.* Pp. xvi + 140. (Longmans.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

BRISTOW, W. E.—*The Call of the Bugle: being some Memories of Men who tried to do their Duty.* Pp. 128. (S.P.C.K.) 6*d.*

COATS, R. H. —*Types of English Piety.* Pp. xii + 284. (T. and T. Clark.) 4*s.* net.

LYTTELTON, HON. E.—*Character and Religion.* 'Library of Historic Theology.' Pp. xvi + 238. (R. Scott.) 5*s.*

MATHEWS, S.—*Scientific Management in the Churches.* Pp. vi + 66. (Chicago University Press. Cambridge University Press.) 2*s.* net.

OTTLEY, R. L.—*The Rule of Faith and Hope: A Brief Exposition of the Apostles' Creed.* 'Library of Historic Theology.' Pp. xvi + 228. (R. Scott.) 5*s.* net.

SMITH, E. S.—*Pastoralia: Prayers and Readings for the Sick and for Parochial Use.* Compiled and edited, with Preface by J. N. FIGGIS. Pp. xiv + 260. (George Allen.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net. By the Vicar of Bracebridge, Lincoln.

STOCK, E.—*The Servant: A Biblical Study of Service to God and Man.* Pp. 128. (S.P.C.K.) 2*s.* 6*d.*

SWINBURNE, J. K.—*An English Churchman's Profession of Faith.* With Preface by B. W. RANDOLPH. Pp. 96. (S.P.C.K.) 6*d.* net. By the Rector of Rockland St. Mary, Norwich.

WALPOLE, Right Rev. G. H. S. (Bishop of Edinburgh).—*A Simple Guide to Holy Communion.* Pp. 74. (R. Scott.) 6*d.*

WELLS, L. S. A.—*The True Greatness of Paul the Apostle: A Story and a Moral.* With Preface by Sir THOMAS ACLAND. Pp. 192. (Knaresborough: W. Parr.) 1*s.* net.

WESTON, F. H.—*The Teaching of John Wesley as gathered from his Writings.* Pp. 32. (S.P.C.K.) 2*d.*

The Case for Confession. Stated by A LAYMAN. (Mowbray.) 3*d.*

MISSIONS.

DIBDIN, E.—*South America and its Unsought Treasures: A Mission Study.* Pp. 72. (S.P.C.K.) 6*d.*

LILLEY, J. P.—*Four Apostles: the Training of Christian Missionaries.* Pp. 158. (S.P.C.K.) 2*s.* 6*d.*

SKIPTON, H. P. K.—*Our Reproach in India.* Pp. xii + 86. (Mowbray.) 1*s.* net.

SERMONS AND ADDRESSES.

BARDSLEY, J. U. N.—*The Church of England and her Endowments.* Six Sermons with Special Reference to the Welsh Disendowment Bill, preached in the Lancaster Parish Church, January and February, 1912. Pp. viii + 118. (Skeffington.) 2*s.* net.

CURLING, E.—*The Transfiguration.* With other Sermons and Short Addresses for Fast and Festival. With Introduction by the BISHOP OF SALISBURY. Pp. xii + 174. (London: John Ouseley, Ltd.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

IRWIN, S. T. (the late).—*Clifton School Addresses.* With an Introduction by W. WARDE FOWLER. Pp. xxiv + 220. (Macmillan.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

ISAACS, F. W.—*Thoughts on the Temptation of our Lord.* Pp. viii + 64. (Mowbray.) 1*s.* net.

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WILSON, J. M.—*The Origin and Aim of the Acts of the Apostles.* Being Six Sermons preached in Worcester Cathedral in Lent, 1912, with an Appendix on Codex Bezae, and a Sermon on Christian Unity. Pp. viii + 142. (Macmillan.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

BOND, F.—*The Cathedrals of England and Wales.* Being a Fourth Edition of *English Cathedrals illustrated.* Pp. xxii + 494. (Batsford.) 7*s.* 6*d.* net. Illustrated by over 200 reproductions from photographs and a series of ground plans to a uniform scale. A new edition of a deservedly popular work which should have a very large sale.

BRIDGES, J. H. (the late).—*France under Richelieu and Colbert.* New Edition with Introduction by A. J. GRANT. Pp. xiv + 164. (Macmillan.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

BURY, J. B.—*A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I* (A.D. 802–67). Pp. xvi + 530. (Macmillan.) 12*s.* net.

BUTLER, D. CUTHBERT.—*Sancte Benedicte Regula Monachorum.* Pp. xvi + 212. (Friburgi Brisgoviae: B. Herder.) 3*s.* 3*d.* net.

CLARKE, Most Rev. H. L. (Archbishop of Melbourne).—*Studies in the English Reformation.* 'Moorhouse Lectures,' 1912. Pp. 250. (S.P.C.K.) 5*s.*

FRERE, W. H.—*Diocesis Cantuariensis. Registrum Matthei Parker.* Pars tertia. 'Canterbury and York Society' Publications, Part XXX. June 1912. Pp. 257–352. (London: issued for the Society at 124, Chancery Lane.)

GEM, S. H.—*An Anglo-Saxon Abbot: Aelfric of Eynsham. A Study.* Pp. xvi + 200. (T. and T. Clark.) 4*s.* net.

GWATKIN, H. M.—*Early Church History to A.D.* 313. Second Edition. Two Volumes. Pp. xiv + 312, vi + 382. (Macmillan.) 17*s.* net.

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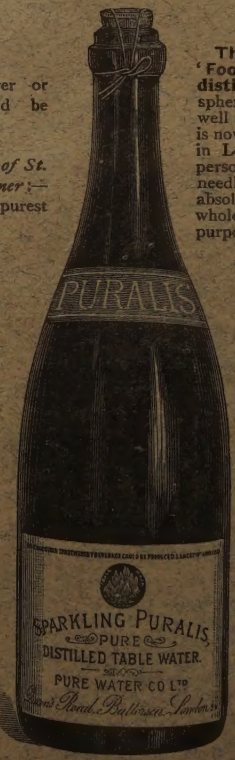

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